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Title: The Mathnawi of
Jalalu'Ddin Rumi

Volume VI

مولانا جلال الدین رومی

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THE MATHNAWÍ
OF
JALÁLU'DDÍN RÚMÍ

EDITED FROM THE OLDEST MANUSCRIPTS
AVAILABLE: WITH CRITICAL NOTES,
TRANSLATION, & COMMENTARY

BY
REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON

LITT.D., LL.D., F.B.A.

*Emeritus Sir Thomas Adams's Professor of Arabic, Fellow of
Trinity College, and sometime Lecturer in Persian
in the University of Cambridge*

VOLUME VI
CONTAINING THE TRANSLATION
OF THE FIFTH & SIXTH BOOKS

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CONTENTS

Foreword	
<i>Prof. S. Nurul Hasan</i> , Minister for Education and Social Welfare, Government of India.	i
Preface	
<i>Col. B. H. Zaidi</i> , President, Indo-Iran Society.	iii
Editorial	
<i>Dr. F. Muḡtabā'i</i> , University of Tehran, Cultural Counsellor to the Imperial Embassy of Iran in India.	vi
1. "Amīd Loiki-A Seventh Century Persian Poet", by <i>Prof. Nazir Ahmad</i> , Aligarh Muslim University.	1
2. "A Note on Shuhra- i Āfāq", by <i>Qāzī Abdul Wudūd</i> , Bar-at-Law, Patna.	34
3. "Ghālib and some of the Classical Persian Poets", by <i>Prof. A. A. Ansari</i> , Aligarh Muslim University.	37
4. "Rūmi and Iqbāl - Stylistic Parallels", by <i>Dr. Sayyid Na'imuddīn</i> , Principal, Vidarbha Mahavidyalaya, Amraoti.	44
5. "Some Valuable and Hitherto Unknown Persian Anthologies in Indian Libraries and Museums", by <i>Prof. S.A.H. 'Ābidi</i> , University of Delhi.	58
6. "Dabistān-i Madhāhib and Dīwān-i Mubad", by <i>Prof. S.H. 'Askari</i> , Patna.	85
7. "Persian Literature in Eighteenth Century Bengal", by <i>Prof. 'Atā Karīm Burke</i> , Calcutta University.	105
8. "Persian as the Well-Head of Research in the History of India from 1030 to 1857 A.D.", by <i>Prof A. Mahdi Husain</i> , Dacca University (Bangladesh).	111
9. "Futūhus-Salātīn", by <i>Dr. S. Nabi Hādi</i> , Aligarh Muslim University.	118
10. "Shaykh Farīd Ganj-i Shikar as A Model Sūfi", by <i>Dr. M. 'Abdul-Haq Ansari</i> , Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan.	125

11. "A Few Facts about the Persian Sitar in India and Elsewhere",
by *Prof. Shahāb Sarmadi*, Aligarh Muslim University.
12. "Iranian Poets and Writers who Visited Bihar", 149
by *Prof. Syed Hasan*, Patna University.
13. "Golconda and Iran—Linguistic Contact," 156
by *Prof. H. K. Sherwani*, Hyderabad.
14. "Goethe, Hāfiz and Iqbāl - A Comparative Study in their
Creative Life-Styles", 175
by *Prof. S. Vahiduddīn*, Institute of History of Medicine and
Medical Research, New Delhi.
15. "An Outline of Indian Aesthetics", 187
by *Prof. Nagendra*, University of Delhi.
16. "Persian Embassy to the Court of Gujarat", 195
by *Prof. S. A. I. Tirmizi*, National Archives of India.
17. "The Punjabis and Their Iranian Heritage", 201
by *Prof. Gurbachan Singh Tālib*, Punjabi University, Patiala.
18. "The Nature and Dimensions of Sabk-i Hindi", 206
by *Dr. Wāris Kirmāni*, Aligarh Muslim University.

Foreword

I am happy to know of the initiative taken by the Indo-Iran Society, New Delhi in bringing out a commemorative volume on Indo-Iranian Studies on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Pahlavi dynasty. Over the centuries, the political and economic relations between India and Iran have developed at various levels and in many fields. This has created an awareness of each other's cultures and traditions among the people at large in both the countries. There have been similarities which can be traced to the evolution of both societies and nations since the earliest period of recorded human history. It is, therefore, a source of great satisfaction that in recent years, the age-old cultural, economic and political ties between the two countries have been further strengthened. There is a growing collaboration which is aimed at bringing the benefits of modern science and technology to both peoples. A large number of Iranian students are studying in India as our guests. Many of our teachers, scientists, engineers and medical men have the privilege of cooperating with the Iranian people in the task of building a modern Iran. The Indo-Iranian joint project at Kudremukh is, in fact, symbolic of a future, when the ties between India and Iran will be even stronger in the years to come.

This volume presents articles by distinguished scholars on various aspects of the cultural and literary renaissance which resulted from the interaction of the creative genius of our two peoples. I am sure, it will be well received by the scholars and the general reading public of both the countries.

S. Nurul-Hasan
Minister of Education and Social Welfare,
Government of India.

Preface

The magnificent celebration of the 2500th anniversary of the establishment of monarchy in Iran revives memories of the period of the greatness and glory of Iran about 500 B.C. when the Persian empire extended from the Indus Valley to southern Russia and parts of north Africa. Iran produced some great rulers like Cyrus the Great, Darius and Khusrau I. Subsequently, in spite of many upheavals, invasions, stresses and strain, Iran managed to preserve its distinctive culture, and its location as a land bridge between East and West was conducive to the growth of civilisation and culture. Over the centuries it produced many eminent scholars, artists, poets and men of science, but no ruler of any great stature. The reign of Shah Abbas can rightly be called Iran's Golden Age, but by the close of the Safavid dynasty, a period of decline started and during the 19th century direct contact with European powers and the expanding strength of Czarist Russia created new problems. Iran lost Georgia and some other territories to Russia and the country was torn between the conflicting interests of Russia and Great Britain; and had to suffer many humiliations. The government of Iran continued to be both weak and vacillating, when at last, according to the Persian verse **دستی از غیب برون آید و کاری بکند** destiny brought General Reza Khan on the scene. A brave and experienced soldier, he was fired with the ambition to rescue Iran from "the villainy of foreigners, and the treachery of mean Iranians", and to rejuvenate the country. Ahmad Shah, the last Qajar king, weak and ease-loving left for Europe in 1923, never to return, having appointed Reza Khan as his Prime Minister.

In 1925 a special Constituent Assembly chose Reza Khan as their Shah who adopted the family name of Pahlavi. Reza Shah Pahlavi thus became the first ruler of a new dynasty. He was a man of strong will power, and strength of character and was acutely conscious of Iran's glorious past and its present weakness and decadence. He was resolved to create a new awakening among his people, give them national unity and patriotic fervour, and a sense of confidence and pride. He fought against feudalism and obscurantism and set his country on the path of enlightenment and progress along modern lines. He strove hard to throw off foreign influences and to secure for Iran full independence and a position of dignity in the community of nations.

Within a few years he achieved remarkable progress and ushered in a new era of peace, progress and stability.

The World War, however, played havoc with the country and shattered the Shah's plans and dreams, and created great distress and suffering. He decided to abdicate, and his son, Muhammad Reza Shah, became the new sovereign. He has carried forward the work started by his father and taken his country to new heights of progress and prosperity. He has brought about sweeping land reforms and is the author of White Revolution. As a result of his dedicated labours and enlightened policy Iran is marching forward in every sphere of life, and has gained the respect and admiration of the world. Iran has regained its soul, and its pride.

Relations between Iran and India have always been very close and cordial due to the bonds of history and geography, and their affinities of culture and ethical values. The two countries are now cooperating with each other in various fields and are embarking on joint economic and industrial projects. The Shahanshah is keen on the preservation of peace in the neighbourhood of Iran and has used his good offices to lessen tension and increase goodwill among the countries of the Indian sub-continent. Thus a strong, united and progressive Iran marches ahead under the inspiring and dynamic leadership of Shahanshah Aryamehr.

The Indo-Iran Society has tried to bring about better understanding between the peoples of Iran and India and I am glad that with the help of Prof. F. Mojtabai, the scholarly Cultural Counsellor of Iran, the Society is bringing out a commemorative volume on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the foundation of the Pahlavi dynasty. I am sure it will be found both interesting and informative.

Col. B.H. Zaidi
President

Editorial

The present volume contains a number of learned articles written by eminent scholars of the Subcontinent and presented for the Golden Jubilee of the glorious reign of Pahlavi dynasty of Iran. The scope of these research works is limited to the post-Islamic period of our history and only a few aspects of the Indo-Iranian cultural and literary relations of this period have been briefly glanced. The areas in which the two nations have mutually worked throughout the ages, and the common heritage that has been created by their continuous endeavours, are so vast, and so rich, that a comprehensive treatment of all their salient features would take years of concentrated work, and would cover several thousands of pages.

For eight hundred years India was one of the most prolific centres of Persian scholarship. Not only in various forms and styles of Persian poetry and fine arts, but also in historiography, religious sciences, mystical literature and other branches of learning, Lahore, Delhi and Deccan were vying with Khorasan, Fars and Isfahan; and in such areas as lexicography, biography writing and grammatical studies Indian schools have made much more valuable contributions to the Persian language and literature than their Iranian counterparts.

Since the earliest Aryan settlements, the advent of post-Islamic Iranian culture in India has been the greatest and the most fruitful event in the long and eventful history of the land. It was the happy blend of Indo-Iranian elements in arts and sciences, architecture and city-planning, music and painting, languages and literature, army and administration, crafts and customs, that gave rise in Medieval India to one of the most glorious civilisations the world had ever seen.

Within a few years he achieved remarkable progress and ushered in a new era of peace, progress and stability.

The World War, however, played havoc with the country and shattered the Shah's plans and dreams, and created great distress and suffering. He decided to abdicate, and his son, Muhammad Reza Shah, became the new sovereign. He has carried forward the work started by his father and taken his country to new heights of progress and prosperity. He has brought about sweeping land reforms and is the author of White Revolution. As a result of his dedicated labours and enlightened policy Iran is marching forward in every sphere of life, and has gained the respect and admiration of the world. Iran has regained its soul, and its pride.

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Col. B.H. Zaidi
President

I conclude with offering my grateful thanks to Dr. Nurul Hasan Ansari of the University of Delhi for his valuable assistance in collecting these papers, to Mrs. Mumtaz Mirza (Padmashri) and Mr. R. S. Somi for helping me in reading the proofs, and to all my Indian friends who inspired and encouraged me to undertake this project.

Fathullah Mujtabā'i

New Delhi

January 4, 1977

‘Amīd Loiki, A Seventh Century Persian Poet

Prof. Nazir Ahmad

‘Amīd Loiki is one of the three¹ fortunate poets of the slave dynasty whose poetical collections have come down to us. He was attached to the courts of Sultan ‘Alā‘ud-Dīn Mas‘ūd (639-644 A.H.), son of Sultan Ruknud-Dīn Fīrūz (d. 634 A.H.), and Sultan Nāsirud-Dīn Mahmūd (644-664 A.H.) son of Sultan Iltutmish (d. 633 A.H.).

‘Amīd had been noticed by the Persian *Tazkira* writers specially by Taqī Auhadī who had very much admired his poetical achievements, in his *‘Arafātul-‘Āshiqīn*. ‘Abdul Qādir Badā‘unī’s *Muntakhabut-Tawārīkh* is perhaps the most exhaustive source of ‘Amīd’s writings. Mīr Jamālud-Dīn Injū Shīrāzi has quoted more than one hundred stray verses from ‘Amīd in his lexicon, *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* to illustrate the meanings and usages of Persian words and phrases; while Surūri Kāshāni has also taken notice of his writings in the *Majma‘ul-Furs*, but not so frequently. The Persian anthologists could not remain indifferent to ‘Amīd’s writings; Kalāti Isfahāni while preparing his anthology *Mūnīsul-Ahrār*,² in 702 A.H. has selected many *Qasīdas* by this poet; while Jājarmi could select only one *Qasīdā* in his *Mūnīsul-Ahrār*³ in 741 A.H. and Muhammad b. Yaghmur⁴ a few poems in his anthology. Another important anthology writer Saif Jām Herawi has included a few poems from ‘Amīd in his *Majmū‘a-i Latā‘if*⁵ prepared during the later part of the 8th century A.H. All this goes to prove that ‘Amīd Loiki was a significant poet of his time who had some impact on Persian language and literature. But it was unfortunate that after the 1st quarter of the 11th century ‘Amīd is heard no more, which was perhaps due to the non-availability of his *Dīwān*.

The credit of introducing this poet goes to Prof. Iqbāl Husain of Patna who added a chapter on ‘Amīd in his treatise : *The Early Persian Poets of India* (1937). After this ‘Amīd had been receiving due recognition in India, but no substantial addition was made to ‘Amīd’s available poems quoted in the *Muntakhabut-Tawārīkh*, the *‘Arafātul-‘Āshiqīn* and the *Khulāsātul-‘Ash‘ār*. It was in 1963-64 that the writer succeeded in discovering a number of original poems⁶ in Kalāti’s *Mūnīsul-Ahrār*, Saif Jām’s *Majmū‘a-i Latā‘if* and the *Majalla-i Armaghān*. It was also revealed

that Jājarmi had quoted long before in his *Mīrisul-Ahrār* the *Qasīda-i Rā'iyā* which was subsequently incorporated in the *Khulāsatul-Ash'ār*. Some time afterwards two important sources, viz, the *Tārikh-i Muhammadi* by Muhammad Bihāmid Khāni and the *Sharh-i Mushkilāt-i Anwari* by Farāhāni were discovered and specially the latter became instrumental in solving a few intricate problems⁷ relating to the genuineness or otherwise of some poems quoted in Kalāti's *Mūnisul-Ahrār*. Finally a short *Diwān* of the poet was discovered in Bombay which was purchased by M.A. Library, A.M.U., Aligarh in 1972. The present paper aims at dealing with the life and literary achievements of 'Amīd Loiki, specially in the light of new material which has been made available very recently.

'Amīd's name, date and place of birth :

According to some biographers⁸ 'Amīd's proper name was 'Amīdud-Dīn. But it is proved to be incorrect, as 'Amīd himself stated in the following line⁹ that his name was Fazlullāh:

عمید اسم تو فضل الله نبودى منزل از گردون
اگر بر فرق تو سایه نه از فضل الاهستى

'Amīd was born in 601 A.H. The date is contained in the following verse¹⁰:

در سر نون و دال عمر از پس خاو نون وها
شکر که مرغ همتم رست بجهد زین شرک

The poet's place of birth was a town called Sunnām which is evident from this line¹¹:

بنده عمید از ثنات صیت مؤبد گرفت تا ابد ازوی چنانک یافته سنام نام

This Sunnām is identical with a town of the same name pronounced a little differently as 'Sunām' situated in the Punjab State at a distance of 119 kilometers from Hissar on the railway line which goes from Hissar to Ludhiana. The poet had lived in this part for quite some time as is evident from his *Qasīdas* in praise of Sultān Tājūd-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Ayāz, ruler of Multan and Uchcha¹² from 639 to 643 A.H., and also from the *Qasīda* in praise of Sultān 'Alā'ud-Dīd Mas'ūd on the occasion of the defeat of the heathen mongols at the battle of Uchcha on 643 A.H.¹³ This is one of the main reasons in holding modern Sunām as the birth place of 'Amīd.

'Amīd's lineage and his family :

There had been great controversies about the correct reading of the word 'Loiki', a *nisbat* appended to his name. It had been read as Lomki, Tūlaki, Nūnki, Nūmki, Tūmki, Kūmki, Kūmli, Tumaski¹⁴ and so on, and had been regarded as the poet's *nisbat* appertaining to his place of birth or native place. But the following verse¹⁵ occurring in one of his *Qasīdas* available in the *Dīwān* proves on the one hand that the correct word is Loiki and, on the other, that it indicated his family :

نسب از عمر پذیرم حسب از تبار لویک
بکدام سلک دیدی دو گهر چنین منظم

The word "Loik" seems to be the name of some local clan of that region.

'Amīd reckoned his lineage from the second Caliph. This is proved by the above line as well as the following¹⁶ :

نسبم چو صبح صادق زدوم خلیفه ثابت
که بخطبه "الجبل" زد سوی ساریه از کمینش

ظلم چه می کند جهان بر چومنی که نسبتم
شمع فروز تا ابد هست ز دوده عمر

'Amīd's relatives :

'Amīd has referred to two of his near relations in two of his poems available in the *Dīwān*. The first is his son named Muhammad Sher who was a poet and for whose success in poetry 'Amīd prays to Allāh in these lines¹⁷ :

بدمت قرۃ العینم مزد این خامه قدسی
چو دست آسودم از خامه بدستش داری ارزانی
محمد شیرم آن فرزند اندر بیشه حکمت
یکی شیر هنر پنجه است فی زین شیر کهدانی

پرو مندش کن از شاخ عطیت در سخن سنجی
 بیازار سخن کاسد مگر دانش ز ارزانی
 بوقتی کز در پنجه رسم در خانه شستم
 انابت را رفیق او کن از توفیق یزدانی

This poem was composed in 658 A.H. when the poet was 57 years old.

'Amīd has lamented the sad demise of one of his cousins from the mother side who was very dear to him. These are the relevant verses :

چشم قنینه کن چومن کز غم همنفس مرا
 دامن ابر شد مژه خون جگر در مطر
 همنفسی که یک نفس دور نبود سال و ماه
 او زمن و من از برش چون تن و جان بهم دگر
 بود صفر که ناگهان چشمه آفتاب دین
 گشت بعقدہ اجل منکسف از مه صفر
 محرم و خاله زاده ام خال جمال ساده کو
 روی جهان چو خال کرد از غم خود کبود فر
 روی چو گوز چین بچین پشت چو خانه کمان
 ناوک آه من از آن می کند از فلک گذر
 عمر بسر شدم بسی در مدحت و در غزل
 خشک نشد سر قلم یک نفسم ز صد هنر
 از غزلم چه فایده یار چو نیست همنفس
 مدح چه بر دهد که شد نقش مراد کورو کر
 آهوی مشک خون گرفت از دم مشکبوی من
 خون معقدار نه چون گشت بمشک مشتھر

'Amīd's last days :

We have no accurate information about 'Amīd's actual age or his date of death. However, this much is known that he has lived beyond sixties. From his poems it becomes evident that he had developed a strong feeling of age consciousness since the time he crossed his 50th year. This consciousness was the result of feeling that much of his time had been wasted in writing praises of wordly persons, as a consequence of which he stopped writing *Qasīdas* and *Ghazals* and devoted himself wholly to composing poems in praise of God and the holy Prophet. The newly discovered *Dīwān* consists mainly of such poems, but the truth is that these poems generally lack the sentiment of a young poet. I would now come to the reference to his old age as available in various poems contained in the *Dīwān*.

In the following verse the poet refers to his 62 years age:

دو هزار فتحنامه خرد از غزاش خوانده
¹⁸ بمیان سال و عمرم دو فزون زشت اویم

The following line has been selected from a poem which was composed after 661 A.H. and as the poet was born in 601, his age at the time of the composition of this poem would be not less than 61 years:

بدوکون جلوه کرده به ثنای مصطفی بین
¹⁹ به سخن گذشت ششصد پس شست و اند اویم

The following line was composed when the poet was running between 50 and 60 years.

ز دور سبع سماوات در کشم دامن
²⁰ که دور عمر ز خمسین بسوی ستین شد

However, the following line is contained in a *Qasīda* which was composed after 658 A.H. when the poet had attained 57 or 58 years;

من اندر خانه شست این صدویک بیت بر بستم
 ز بعد ششصد و پنجاه و هشت از فضل ربانی

At that time 'Amīd had disassociated himself from writing lyrical and eulogical poems. He says :—

خداوندا مگیرم زین کہ جز در نعت و توحیدم
 سخن بسیار شد منظوم در مدح و غزل خوانی
 یکی را در غزل گفته کہ از حور بهشتست این
 یکی را در ثنا کرده خطاب اسکندر ثانی
 یکی را کین مہین بانو ز بلقیس است چابکتر
 یکی را کین وشاق آمد سزاوار سلیمانی
 یکی را چشمہ خورشید در چاہ زنج بسته
 یکی را کہکشانشان دادہ کمند از شکل پیچانی
 یکی را کین ز حورا بردہ گوی حسن در میدان
 یکی را کین ز کیوان بر گذشت از عالی ایوانی
 یکی را کین ز سیم سادہ صد گنج روان دارد
 یکی را کین ز بس حکمت یکی گنج است لقمانی
 یکی را کین ز لعل آوردہ فضل بر در و گوہر
 یکی را کین ز خط پیوستہ مروارید عمانی
 یکی را کین ز چین زلف پرچین راندہ بر نسرین
 یکی را کین بر ابر افکنندہ جودش چین پیشانی
 بسی گفتم ازین نا گفتنی و جمع ہم کردم
 یکی جمعی کہ زو در دین نیارد جز پشیمانی
 فکندم خامہ مدح و غزل از دست کز پیری
 شدم چون خامہ باریک و صریح و نالانی

Despite the internal evidence respecting the poet's long life, it is not quite probable that he was present at Sultan Muhammad's court at Multan about 683 A.H. when the latter's tragic assassination took place. The absence of any poem in praise²¹ of the said Prince or an elegy on this tragic event in 'Amīd's poetical collection may place his death earlier than 683 A.H.

‘Amīd’s official status and imprisonment :

It has been stated by Badā’uni²² that ‘Amīd held the post of *mustaufi ul mamālik* under Sultān Nāsirud-Dīn Mahmūd (644-664 A.H.). The author of the *makhzanul-Gharā’ib*²³ says that he was the “Mustaufi” and “Mushrif” of all the states of Hindustan. But the authors of the ‘*Arafāt*²⁴ and *Gul-i Ra’nā*²⁵ claim that ‘Amīd had held the post under Sultān Muhammad, the eldest son of Sultān Balban. The apparent ground for this conclusion may be the poem which ‘Amīd had composed in praise of Sultān Nasīr ud-Dīn Muhammad, son of Balban, who had been identified as the “martyr Prince”. The poet forcefully pleads that he was falsely implicated and dismissed from the service and put into prison. But this identification is not so simple for the obvious reason that in the poem ‘Amīd has unusually not referred to his old age which would have been a forceful ground for his release, though the fact remains that if he was at all attached with the martyr Prince his age would have been between 77 to 82 years. However, his attachment with Nasīrud-Dīn Muhammad and his holding the office of “Mushrif” under him and ultimately his imprisonment by the said Prince is a certainty. He has written two poems in praise of the above Prince, but in only one of them he has referred to his confinement. Another poem indicating his imprisonment is in praise of God. It would be worthwhile to quote a few lines from both of them:

مشرف نبود عارضت از خط چرا کشد
 چون من بدور دولت این شهر یار بند²⁶
 شاه جهان گشای نصیرالحق آنکه حق
 بردست و پای بخل ز جودش هزار بند
 والا محمد بلبن کز کمند قهر
 بر سرکشان نهد بگه کارزار بند
 فرموده ای که بند نهند اهل فضل را
 هی هی ، بر اهل فضل منه زینهار بند
 من طوطی سخنورم آخر نه جره باز
 درپای طوطیان غلط آمد شکار بند
 چندین مدارم از پی تخلیص منتظر
 خولم چو آب کرد درین انتظار بند

نامم ز شرق و غرب گذشت از سخنوری

واجب کند پپای چنین نامدار بند ؟

شاهباز غیرت حق از کمین زد پنجه ای

زان کبوتر وار در یک گوشه مسکن کرده ام²⁷

ره درین یک برج بی روزن نمودندم ولی

من بهمت ره برون از هفت روزن کرده ام

برجی آنکه چون دلم بل کز دل من تنگتر

رشته ام ، گوئی مکان در چشم سوزن کرده ام

مسند خورشید زرین تخت می زبید مرا

حال را من تکیه بر کرسی آهن کرده ام

در گریبان سرفرو برد اژدهای هفت سر

تا من این مار دوسر در زیر دامن کرده ام

بند بیژن میکنند عرض در چاه ستم

فی منیژه دیدم و فی جرم بیژن کرده ام

همدمانم هر یکی در شغل و من در بند و حبس

حاش لله زین سخن ، تنها گنه من کرده ام ؟

کار بر عکس است ورنه خود که روز بد کشد

شغل اشرافی که من بر وجه احسن کرده ام

قن غذا خواهست در بند غم و من راتبش

شربت از خون و کباب از دل معین کرده ام

یک زبان بودم چو لاله در شکایت ، بعد ازین

خویشتن را ده زبان مانند سوسن کرده ام

چون بنفشه سر به پیش افکنده از قحط کرم

همچو سوسن ده زبان از مدحت الکن کرده ام

کیفر لب میبزم کز گفتن مدح دروغ
هر گدائی را شه و اشهب ز لادن کرده ام

که سها را بر فروغ ماه رجحان داده ام
گاه دریا را کم از فیض عزبزن کرده ام

✓ ‘Amīd’s Patrons :

‘Amīd got himself attached with the courts of two Emperors of Delhi, viz. Sultān ‘Alā’ud-Dīn Mas‘ūd (d. 644 A.H.) and Sultān Nāsirud-Dīn Mahmūd (d. 664 A.H.). For the former he had composed some poems of which 19 lines of a *Qasīda*²⁸ hailing the King’s victory over the Mongols in 643 A.H. at Uchcha are quoted in the *Tārīkh-i Muḥammadi* by Muhammad Bihmid Khāni ; while two poems²⁹ in praise of Sultān Nāsirud-Dīn Mahmūd are still extant.

But prior to his admittance to the court of Delhi Kings ‘Amīd had been in the service of the local Sultān Tājūd-Dīn Abū Bakr-i Ayāz who had ruled Multan, Uchcha and Sind from 639 to 643 A.H. Amīd had composed poems in his praise of which at least two poems³⁰ have come down to us. In one of the poems the full name i.e. Sultān Tājūd-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Ayāz is given while in the other Tājūd-Dīn Abū Bakr (without his father’s name) is available. The monarch and his father are those mentioned by Qāzi Minhāj-i Sirāj in the *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri* (22nd *Tabaqa*) which may be summarised as follows³¹ :

“Malik Kabīr Khān Ayāz was a Rūmi Turk and had been the slave of Malik Nāsirud-Dīn Husain ... When Malik Nāsirud-Dīn Husain was put to death by the Turks of Ghazni his sons and his brother reached the presence of the sublime court, and Sultān Shamsud-Dīn Iltutmish purchased ‘Izzud Dīn Kabīr Khān Ayāz, direct from them. When the august Sultān brought the territory of Multan under his sway in 625 A.H. he conferred upon ‘Izzud-Dīn Kabīr Khān Ayāz the city and fortresses of Multan, with the whole of its towns, districts and dependencies and installed him in the government of that territory and exalted him to the title of Kabīr Khān Mangburni³².... On the return of the Sultān to Delhi, the capital, Kabīr Khān Ayāz took possession of the territory and brought it under his jurisdiction, and caused it to flourish, and after a period of two, three or four years, he was recalled to the capital and Palwal was assigned to him for his maintenance.

“When Shamsi reign came to its termination, and Sultān Ruknud-Dīn Fīrūzshāh succeeded, he conferred upon Kabīr Khān the district of Sunām. . . . Sultān Razia showed Kabīr Khān Ayāz great honour and conferred upon him the province of Lahore with the whole of the dependencies and districts belonging to that territory ; but after a year or two a slight change manifested itself in the mind of Sultān Razia towards him, and in 636 her sublime standard advanced towards Lahore. Kabīr Khān Ayāz retired before her and the army marched in pursuit of him. Finding that it was impossible to follow any other course, he made his submission, and Multan was again placed under his charge. After a considerable period had passed away Kabīr Khān Ayāz assumed sovereignty³³ in the territory and a canopy of state, and possessed himself of Uchcha. Shortly after this disaffection in 639 he died.

“After his decease his son Tājud-Dīn Abū Bakr-i Ayāz who was a young man of good disposition, fiery, very impetuous, and courageous, brought the territory of Sind under his sway. Several times he attacked Mongol army before the gate of Multan and put it to fight, and showed such great skill and high spiritedness that he was noted for his manliness and valour, when suddenly in the morning of life and flower of his youth he passed to the Almighty's mercy. May God have mercy upon both.”

From the above details it follows that Sultān Tājud-Dīn-i Ayāz and his father Kabīr Khān Ayāz are certainly the same personalities as mentioned by ‘Amīd Loiki in his poems. Since ‘Amīd's native town Sunam was in the territory of both Kabīr Khān Ayāz and his son Sultan Tajud-Dīn, it was not unusual for the poet to compose poems for both of them, more especially for the young, spirited and manly Sultān.

Sultān Tājud-Dīn seems to be a generous patron and it was on this account that the earliest Persian translation of the *Awārif-ul-Ma‘ārif*³⁴ done by Qāsim Dā‘ūd on the advice of Hazrat Bahā‘ud-Dīn Zakariyā of Multan, was dedicated to the above Prince.

Sultān Tājud-Dīn died in 643 A.H. and it was after his death that the Mongols had attacked Uchcha the same year. Perhaps ‘Amīd had chanced to meet Sultān ‘Alā‘ud-Dīn Mas‘ūd who had come to repel the Mongol aggression here and present the *Qasīda* quoted in the *Tārīkh-i Muhammadi*

Another significant patron was Nasīrud-Dīn Muhammad, son of Balban. ‘Amīd served the prince as a “Mushrif” but was subsequently put into prison. The prince had been identified as the martyr Prince

Muhammad who was killed at Multan in 683 A.H. at the hands of the Mongols, but this identification as referred to earlier is not free from suspicion. However, two *Qasīdas* are still available in praise of the said patron.

One of ‘Amīd’s earlier patrons was Malik Qutbud-Dīn Hasan in whose praise a long *Tarkīb-band* is still quoted in anthologies.³⁵ This Qutbud-Dīn Hasan³⁶ was an outstanding *Malik* under Sultān Iltutmish who was subsequently raised to the post of “*Nā’ib-i Malik*” under Sultān ‘Alā’ud-Dīn Mas’ūd. He was however put into prison in 653 A.H. and killed during the reign of Sultān Nāsirud-Dīn Mahmūd.

Another important patron was Tājūd-Dīn Sanjar who according to the *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri* whose author was his friend, was the “*Shahna-i Bahr*” ‘Amīd’s two *Qasīdas* in praise of this noble have been quoted by Badā’uni³⁷ The full name of the noble was Tājūd Dīn Sanjar Karīt Khān, not Tājūd-Dīn Sanjar Tabar Khān as supposed by Mr. Sabāhud-Dīn in *Bazm-i Mamlūk iya*³⁸.

‘Amīd’s accomplishments in learning and science :

‘Amīd seems to have acquired proficiency in some branches of learning and science. This is why one would come across in his writing frequent references to the holy Quran and the Traditions, sciences of astronomy, astrology and history. I shall quote some verses from a *Qasīda* in which he proceeds like Abul-Haitham Jurjāni³⁹ in his famous *Qasīda* called چون و چرا :

دوش کین حقه‘ میمین ز افق پنهان شد
 بر بساط فلکی مهره‘ سیم ارزان شد
 سایه گوی زمین در خم چوگان فلک
 شد چنان تیره که خورشید در و پنهان شد...
 این دو کره است یکی اغبر و دیگر اخضر
 چه دلیل است که این ثابت و آن گردان شد
 منرج کل چو ز یک زاویه‘ فطرت کرد
 این یکی را چه سبب بر دگری رجحان شد
 جدی و دلو (است) یکی خاکی و دیگر بادی
 صاحب هر دو بگوئی که چرا کیوان شد

قوس و حوت از چه قبل قسمت برجیس آمد ✓
 گاهش این محکمه و گاهش مظلّم آن شد ✓
 حمل آتشی و عقرب آبی چه سبب ✓
 این یکی مسند بهرام و یکی میدان شد ✓
 کاتب چرخ چرا سنبله و جوزا برد ✓
 آن یکی مطرفه و آن دگرش دیوان شد ✓
 زهره کو مطربه خوش نغمات فلک است ✓
 که طرب خانه او ثور و گهی میزان شد ✓
 ماه کو شمع نخستین لکن گردونست ✓
 قسم او زین ده و دو بنگر یک سرطان شد ✓
 قانع از بهر چه معنی است بیک برج اسد ✓
 شاه انجم که رخ افروز همه گیهان شد ✓
 حکمت نیک دقیق است درین طرز بین ✓
 خاطرت گر ز ره فکر آن شد (۹) ✓

'Amīd's Dīwān :

'Amīd was a professional poet and had composed large numbers of verses in each form, his main field, however, being Persian *Ghazal* and *Qasīda*. His poems, according to 'Amīd's own testimony were⁴⁰ collected into a *Dīwān*. But no Ms. of such *Dīwān* has survived. However, a short *Dīwān* mainly comprising poems in praise of God and the holy Prophet was discovered in Bombay some three years back which has been purchased by the M.A. Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh. It was in a Collection consisting of the select *Dīwāns* of the following poets:

1. Azraqi Hirawi
2. Badr-i Chāch
3. 'Amīd Loiki

Now all the three parts have been bound separately, the last part forming Loiki's *Dīwān*. The Ms. has 14 lines to a page in a size of 5" x 3½" in small *Nasta'liq* without the scribe's name. There are some lacunae

both in the middle and at the end, pointing to the defect of the original Ms. There is no distinctive mark as to distinguish one poet from the other.

The Ms. contains ‘Amīd’s 51 poems, mainly *Qasīdas* and small *Qit‘as*, with one long *Tarkīb-band* and one *Rubā‘i*. The longest *Qasīda* contains 96 verses (though in the original it had 102) while the shortest *Qit‘a* has two lines only. Most of the poems are in praise of God and the holy Prophet.

There is no doubt about the genuineness of the Ms.; firstly, because four of its *Qasīdas* are included in the *Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh* of which one is also quoted by Saif Jām in the *Majmū‘a-i Latā‘if*; secondly, because some of the verses quoted in the *Farhang-i Jahāngīri* and *Farhang-i Surūri* are available in the Ms. under discussion; thirdly, because two of its *Qasīdas* are quoted in the *Majalla-i Armaghān* from an old anthology.

In addition to 51 poems contained in the Ms., 14 *Qasīdas*, one *Tarkīb-band*, some *Qit‘as* and about 90 stray verses have been quoted in anthologies, historical works and lexicon. On the basis of all this material the writer has prepared a critical edition of ‘Amīd’s *Dīwān* which is ready for press.

Spurious poems attributed to ‘Amīd :

Various poems have wrongly been attributed to ‘Amīd in some anthologies. One of such poems beginning with

آهن و نی چون پدید آمد ز صنع کردگار
درمیان تیغ و کلک افتاد جنگ و کارزار

has been twice quoted by Taqi Kāshi in the *Khulāsatul-Ash‘ār*⁴⁰ and once by Kalāti Isfahāni in the *Mūnīsul-Ahrār*⁴¹ in the name of ‘Amīd. The reasons that the attribution is wrong are as follows :

1. The patron mentioned is Malikshāh, and no king contemporary with ‘Amīd is known to go by this name.

2. Sūzani Samarqandi has used the first line in one of his *Qasīdās*.⁴² As Sūzani had died in 562 or 569 A.H. the poem had obviously been composed more than a century earlier.

3. This complete poem is contained in the *Dīwān* of Mu‘izzi⁴³ and hence the latter should be correctly regarded its author and not ‘Amīd.

Another *Qasida* beginning with

زلف نگار گفت من از قیرو چنبرم
شب صورت و شبه صفت و مشک پیکرم

is recorded twice in the *Khulāsatul-Ash'ār*⁴⁴ and once in the *Mūnisi'-Ahrār*⁴⁵ in the name of 'Amīd but this attribution is wrong in view of the fact that Muhammad 'Awfī in the *Lubābul-Albāb*⁴⁶, Rashīdud-Dīn Watwāt in the *Hadā'iqus-Sihr*⁴⁷ and Hidāyat in the *Majma'ul-Fusahā*⁴⁸ have attributed it to Kamālī Bukhārā'ī.

Another *Qasida* beginning with

گفتم مرا دو بوسه ده ای ماه دلستان
گفتا که ماه بوسه کرا داد در جهان

has been quoted in the *Majalla-i Armaghān*, vol I, p. 98, in the name of 'Amīd, but this is wrong, because it is included in the *Dīwān*⁴⁹ of Mu'izzi. Moreover, some lines from it are quoted in the *al-Mu'jam*⁵⁰ of Shams Qais in the name of the aforesaid poet. Hence it is proved beyond doubt that it is from Mu'izzi and not from 'Amīd Loiki.

The aforesaid *Qasida* is followed in the *Majalla-i Armaghān* by another poem beginning with

ای خط مشکین حمایل روی توسیمین مهر

which has been attributed to 'Amīd. But since the attribution of the aforesaid *Qasida* to 'Amīd is wrong, the following one may also be regarded of someone else's who is otherwise unknown.

The following four *Qasīdās* quoted in Kalīti's *Mūnisi'-Aharār* under 'Amīd, were supposed to be some other poet's composition by me in the *Majalla-i Fikr-u Nazar*, Oct. '64, (pp. 30-32).

گفتم سر چه داری گفتا سروفا

چونست حال من بمن امروز یار گفت

پیام دادم نزدیک آن بت دلبر

اگر نه مست شد بلبل فغان چندین چرا دارد

But subsequently the second and the fourth poems were found to be genuine on the testimony of Abul Hasan Farāhāni's *Mushkilāt-i Anwari*.⁵¹ As all the four poems are quoted in the same sequence, the attribution of all of them to ‘Amīd seems to be correct.

‘Amīd’s references to the earlier poets :

‘Amīd’s existing poems do not provide sufficient material about his indebtedness to the earlier masters of Persian poetry. However, he has modelled one “*Na‘tiya*” *Qit‘a* on a line of Kamāl Isfahāni (d. 635 A.H.) who was a senior contemporary of ‘Amīd :

عمید گفت به خاک جناب تو چو کمال
کجائی ای بدو لب آب زندگانی من

‘Amīd has again composed a *Qasīda* in praise of the holy Prophet in rhyme and metre of a *Qasīda* written by Qāzi Mansūr b. Mahmūd Uzjandi in praise of the Tayangū, one of the Qara Khatā’i nobles. The latter *Qasīda* is quoted by ‘Awfi in his *Lubābul-Albāb*. I shall quote two lines from both which will substantiate the above point of view⁵².

Qāzi Mansūr

‘Amīd

بر خیز عمید ار نفسردست دل تو	بر خیز که شمعست و شرابست و من و تو
بگذر ز غزل حمد خداوند جهان گو	آواز خروس سحری خاست زهر سو
با حکم قدیم تو چه کسری و چه قیصر	بستند کمرها و گشادند سراغج
در پیش قضای تو چه خاقان چه تینگو	میران خطا جمله بفرمان تینگو

‘Amīd while composing his prison-poems had the similar poems of Mas‘ūd-i Sa‘d-i Salnān (d. 525 A.H.) and Khāqāni (d. 595 A.H.) in his view. His comparison of “fettters” with ‘dragons’ are certainly borrowed from Khāqāni. For example, he says :

در گریبان سرفرو برد اژدهای هفت سر
تا من این مار دو سر در زیر دامن کردهام

Khāqāni says :

مار دیدی در گیا پیچان کنون در غار غم
 مار بین پیچیده بر ماق گیا آسای من
 اژدها بین حلقه گشته خفته زیر دامنم
 زان نجنبم ترسم آگه گردد اژدرهای من
 تا نترسند این دو طفل هندواندر مهد چشم
 زیر دامن هوشم اژدرهای جانفرسای من

'Amīd had in his view Nizāmi Ganjawi's *Makhzanul-Asrār* while composing this line ; though this has nothing to do with Nizāmi's impact on 'Amīd's poetry :

گوهر اسرار معنی شد چنان حاصل که من
 خاطر از گنجینه اسرار مخزن کرده ام

'Amīd' poetry :

'Amīd was a talented poet of his age. And it is because of his gift of poetry that Badā'uni calls him⁵³ *ملک ملوک الکلام* (the King of the Kings of Poetry) ; while Taqi Awhadi has paid him a glowing tribute in these words ⁵⁴ :

“ 'Amīd is one of the greatest philosophers (حکما), poets and scholars of the early period. A pillar of the world of poetry, unique in the age in the art of versification, a world pervading sun, the brilliant star in the firmament of dignity and grandeur. The brilliance of his nature was a source of envy to the sun, the loftiness of his imagination had attained the height of the highest heaven ; in rhetorical artifices his expressions were magical and in seriousness and sobriety his poetry is miraculous.”

'Amīd was chiefly a *Qasida*-writer, and though he claims to have excelled in *Ghazal* as well, adequate poems of this form are not forthcoming so as to form any definite opinion about his success as a *Ghazal*-writer ; and I fail to subscribe to Dr. Iqbal Husain's views⁵⁵ who holds his position very high on the basis of a single *Ghazal*, while the other example which he has quoted to illustrate his views is not a *Ghazal* but one *Band* of a *Tarkīb* quoted in anthologies.⁵⁶

However, ‘Amīd has left some eloquent *Qasīdas* in which ‘sentiments are natural and sublime, the images are striking, the diction is eloquent and animated, and versification is smooth and flowing.’ I shall repeat here some lines from the *Tashbīb* of one of his earlier *Qasīdas* in praise of Sultān Tājūd-Dīn Abū Bakr⁵⁷:

دارم جفای نو بنو زبن چرخ نا خوش منظری
 کوری کبودی کجروی عاقل کشی دون پروری
 بر چرخ کین هفت اخترست هر هفت نا کس پرورست
 هر روز نوعی دیگرست بر جان من هر اختری
 در موج دریای محن هستم اسیر و محتجن
 این کشتی مقصود من ، یارب ندارد لنگری
 کرد این سپهر دون لقب بر من همه روزم چو شب
 هرگز نبردم زو بلب بی خون دل یک ساغری
 رخت امیدم برده شد جانم ز رنج آزرده شد
 شاخ طرب پژمرده شد بی آب چون نیلوفری
 برد از من خسته جگر گردون بغارت سیم و زر
 من ماندم و نقد هنر فی اسب و نی لاشه خری
 دستم ز جور دهر دون در زیر غم آمد ستون
 دل در بر از اندیشه خون بی غمگسار و یاوری
 بودم درین تیمار غم پروده رنج و ستم
 کز در درآمد صبحدم شمشاد قد مه پیکری
 با روی مانند گلی با لعل هم رنگ ملی
 با طره چون سنبل با قامت چون عرعر
 سرین برو کوچک دهن شکر لب و شیرین سخن
 در بر ز طنزش پیرهن در سر ز نازش معجری

It would not be out of place to quote a few lines from another forceful *Qasida* which has been wrongly included in Nizāmi Ganjawi's *Dīwān*⁵⁸ and also quoted in the latter's name in the *Majmū a-i Lata'if* by Saif Jām Hirawi⁵⁹:

چه دهد مرا زمانه بکف از چمانه غم
 به بساط بزم گیتی قدح ستم دما دم
 چه کشم ز دور گردون چو قرابه سر بمهر است
 بدل گلاب شادی همه عمر باده غم
 بامید نقد گنجی نهدم بکام افعی
 ز پی کباب گوری دهم بیچنگ ضیغم
 ز تموز آفتابم دل و سینه گفته یکسر
 ز سموم حادثاتم لب و دیده خشک و پر نم
 ز درون هفت سقفش که سراب وهم آمد
 شده چار میخ جرمم بمثال نعل ادهم
 فلک ار ز بهر خونم سر آستین نه بر زد
 ز شفق چراست آنکه سر آستین معلم
 غلطم نه گر به سوگ من گشته دل نشسته
 سرو قامتش چه پوشد ز قضا لباس ماتم
 دل جاثلیق حکمت ز سپهر ناتوان شد
 دم جانفزاش ناید ز لب مسیح مریم
 کف من ز شاخ طوبی چو بریده گشت مانده
 ز پل صراط حرمان نظرم سوی جهنم
 ز حوادث زمانه شده تیره جام خسرو
 بامید ملک برده کف دیو خاتم جم
 دل کیست آگه اینجا ز نهان سر حکمت
 که بدیو نقل چون شد ز جمش نگین خاتم

چمن بهار همت بخزان دی رسیده
ز نوا بمانده بلبل ، ز حدیث طوطی ابکم

‘Amīd has often used striking similes and metaphors. Here are few lines selected from a *Qasīda*⁶⁰ in which most of the similes are drawn from heaven:

مجر آتش نظر در زیر عودی تخت رفت
بر سپهر از آتش عودش دخان آمد پدید
قرصه زر شد نهان در سفره لعل شفق
ریزه سیمین بروی سبز خوان آمد پدید
ماکیان زاغ رنگ از اختران شد بیضه ور
بیضه ای بین چون خروس ماکیان آمد پدید
تیغ صریخ از دل بزغاله خون بر شب چکاند
اینست ملواحی که بهر کرگسان آمد پدید
مهره انجم برون داد از شکم بر روی پشت
ارقمی کز جویبار کهکشانش آمد پدید
بازو عقرب نشین را بر دل از دیو شهاب
آتشین تیر است تازه برکمان آمد پدید
گرد نرگسدان گردون بین هزاران نرگسه
هر طرف زین نرگسه صد گلستان آمد پدید
مشتی را در ادای خطبه ختم رسل
از در انجم مرصع طیلسان آمد پدید

An illustration of ‘Amīd’s originality in thought is provided by these verses selected from a *Qasīda*⁶¹ in praise of God:

بر خیز عمید ار نفسردست دل تو بگذر ز غزل ، حمد خداوند جهان گو
مداحی درگاه خدا کن که برافراشت بی زحمت آلات بسی گنبد مینو

دو شاه روان کرد برین طارم ازرق پس داده ز سیاره شان خیل ز هر سو
صد شاهد اختر بگه شام نموده مشاطه صنعتش ز پس پرده نه تو
فرموده بخاتون جهان از شب و از روز دو خادم چالاک لقب رومی و هندو ✓

‘Amīd has left very eloquent *Qasīdas* in praise of the holy Prophet and in this respect his contribution to the development of “Na‘t” poetry in Persian may be very significant. Some lines from two *Qasīdas*⁸² are selected here :

سخنی طرازم اکنون که طراز آستینش
ز طراز جان بچربد چو طراز آفرینش
ره طرز نو گزینم ز طراز نعت یک ره
که دو کون شد کتابه بطراز آستینش
کل روضه نبوت که ز سنبلش به ماچین
تحفی برون نافه نه برد صبا به چینش
سر کائنات احمد که پپای همت او
چو صدف نثار برده فلک از در ثمینش
فلکش ز پنج نوبت دو عالم سه پایه کرده
ز تنوره مسدس بحصار هفتمینش
قدر و قضاش راعی، اجل و امل موافق
ز من و زمانش داعی، ملک و فلک رهینش
بزبان سوسمارش رقمی بد از سبجش
ز نسیم عنکبوتی تتقی بد از قرینش
به سپهر مه گریبان نظرش بیک اشارت
چو قواره زد دو نیمه دل ماه نازنینش

دلم چو بسته نقش سپهر کژ بین شد
ز آب دیده رخم نقش یند پروین شد

ز کعبتین فلک نقش راست چون طلبم
 که هفت مهره برین نه بساط کژبین شد
 سپاه صبر بیک ره شکست اندر دل
 سه پایه علم و غم چو نقطه شین شد
 مجوی رسم وفاق از فلک که گردون را
 مخالفت صفت و کینه رسم و آئین شد
 سخن دوباره بفکر آزمائیم بنشانند
 غذای من چو سقنقور نعت یاسین شد
 یگانه خیز دو کون آفتاب دین احمد
 که فر طمعش آئینه رخ دین شد
 محبتش خفقان دلم در افزوده
 که دید زین خفقانی که محض تسکین شد
 شبی که زین براقش چو نورمه می تافت
 خم هلال تو گوئی رکاب آن زین شد

‘Amīd is perhaps the first poet in India to write “Strife” poems after the style of Asadi Tūsi. One shch poem depicting a “*Manāzira*” between “wine” and “hemp” has come down to us. It may be noted that being in praise of Sultān Tājūd-Dīn Abu Bakr it is one of his early compositions when the poet was about 40 years. Some introductory lines⁶⁸ quoted below would indicate his style :

دی درمیان باده صافی مزاج و بنگ
 در مصعد دماغ من افتاد شور و جنگ
 بگشاد می زبان که منم دختر عنب
 صافی تن و نشاط فزای عقیق رنگ
 تا من سر از دریچه خم بر نمی کنم
 نایست سر گرفته و خشک است رود چنگ

گر موشکی ضعیف زمن جرعه ای چشد
 نه شکفت اگر ز پنجه خراشد رخ پلنگ
 خاصیت من این و توای بنگ خشک مغز
 ذکر خواص خویش بمن گوی بیدرنگ
 بنگ سبک سر از سر و حشت زبان گشاد
 کای نزد فکرت تو یکی شکر و شرنگ
 از تو یکی پیاله و صد محنت خمار
 از من طلب علاج دل ناتوان تنگ
 لا تقربوا الصلوة بر اوراق تست نقش
 ام الخبائث است بر آئینه تو زنگ

'Amīd's prison-poems are effective and forceful but it would be unfair to place them on the level of Mas'ūd-i S'ad-i Salmān or of Khāqāni. However, their naturalness and grace are worth noticing. Some of the verses quoted earlier would adequately explain the point. While writing these poems 'Amīd had kept similar poems of Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān and Khāqāni as his model.

While composing the Qasīdas in the form of questions and answers 'Amīd had followed the earlier masters who had excelled in this art. He has a number of poems of this form of which the one⁶⁴ composed in praise of Nusratud-Dīn Yalduz would serve as a model :

گفتم بگاه صبح یکی جام می بیار
 گفتا که بیدلان را با جام می چه کار
 گفتم زباده تو خمار است در سرم
 گفتا که باده نوش کشد زحمت خمار
 گفتم که در هوای تو دل را قرار نیست
 گفتا که در هوای من و آنکهی قرار ؟
 گفتم غم میان تو پیوسته می خورم
 گفتا که چون میانم از آن گشته ای نزار

گفتم ز مشک زلف تو چونست حال مشک
گفتا که باز خون شده در نافه تار

‘Amīd was fond of poetic artifices. At least one *Tarkīb-band*⁶⁵ is available in which the figure of speech “*Tajnīs*” has been employed in each line of each *Band*. Similarly a *Qasīda* is quoted in the *Dīwān* in which the word “آینه” is repeated in each line (except the introductory verses).

The second *Pand* of the *Tarkīb* has been misunderstood for a *Ghazal*⁶⁶ and I take the opportunity of quoting it below :

گر ندهی عقل را بر لب دربار بار
بر دلم از غم منه خیره بیکبار بار
تا گل رویت شگفت هر نفس از رشک تو
در جگر دل نشست لعبت فرخار خار
از حسد عارضت کآب مسمی می برد
در سر خود می زند لاله و گلنار نار
دوش به بازار عشق شد دل و در هر قدم
کشته چشم تو دید بر سر بازار زار
در خم هر تار موی زلف تو دارد شبی
روز دلم کرده چون شب ازان تار تار
خون من از چابکی خورده و عیار گشت
مثل تو کس را مباد چابک و عیار یار
دار شفای دلست چون در خسرو لب
یک نفس این خسته را محرم آن دار دار
قطب هدی آنکه زو شد در دین باز باز
دولت ازو می کند چون بت طناز ناز

Amīd had developed a taste for composing poems with unpoetic and difficult “rhymes” and refrains such as روزه ، بند ، ناخن ، کشتی

etc. and it is interesting to note that he had in some cases produced graceful *Qasīdas*. A few verses from six⁶⁷ such poems are selected to substantiate the above point of view:

ای از بنفشه بر صنعت صد هزار بند
وز لعل تست بر گهر آبدار بند
زلفت زره گریست که هر دم در آورد
بر سوسنت ز سلسله مشکبار بند
سوسن بزیر حلقه منبل نکوترست
گوجنبش صبا ز گلت بر مدار بند
در غنچه که خنده همی زد دهان تست
زان غنچه واگشای هم از نوک خار بند

ای از نهیب حکم تو خم زده قامت فلک
خطبه کبریای تو 'وحدک لاشریک لک'
پرتو نور قدس تو چهره گشای مهرومه
گوشه نشین ملک تو اوج سماک تا سماک
گاه تذرو روز را بال و پر آتشین دهی
گاه در آبگون قفس همدم شب کنی عکک
طاسک مه شکسته بر سروپای هر مہی
غور محیط بسته گرد ستاره پرک
از جگر تنور شب امر تومی بر آورد
قرصه زر مغربی از پس سیمگون خپک
بر سر عرض نو بهار از در آفرینشت
لاله نشسته با سپر بید ستاده با نجک
منبل وکل دهد برون از لب و چهره صنع تو
در شکر طبرزدین لطف تو پرورد نمک

چو بر دارد نگارم چنگ و بندد زخمه بر ناخن
 زند ناهید را صد زخم غیرت بر جگر ناخن
 ز رشک چنگ او ناهید را تب گیرد آن ساعت
 کبودش گردد از تأثیر آن تب سرسبز ناخن
 حنا بر ناخنش خونی شمرکز وقت رگ جستن
 ز چنگ خشک نی ناگه بجست و کرد تر ناخن
 بیاروده بلطف ای مهر دلداری که بارویت
 عروس ماه خونین دل ز رشک آورده در ناخن
 می چون خون خرگوشم بیاد مجلس شاهی
 که قهر او بکند از پنجه شیران تر ناخن

زهی ز نرگس مست تو پر خمار آهو
 ز بند نافه مشک تو شرمسار آهو
 بحیرتست دران چشم دیده نرگس
 بغیرتست دران زلف مشکبار آهو
 ز رشک نقطه مشکین که بر گل تو چکد
 مدام دارد در سینه خار خار آهو
 حدیث عنبر زلف تو تا رسیده بدو
 فگند قصه نافه در اختصار آهو

قد چو نارونش کرد خیزران روزه
 ز ارغوانش برون داده زعفران روزه
 چه زعفران که نخندم ازان و از گریه
 زیر کرد رخ و اشکم ارغوان روزه
 چه لاله بود که حیریش می دهد گونه
 چه سرو بود که میداردش نوان روزه

چو گل شکفته' رو تا بغنچه باز نشد (۹)
یقین نشد که گرفتهست گلستان روزه

مراسم دیده محیط و خیال جان کشتی ✓
بر آب دیده ز غم می کند روان کشتی
در آب دیده شب و روزم و چگونه بود
فراز و شیب ز خون موج و درمیان کشتی
درین محیطم اگرچه روان و ساکن هست ✓
ز چار لنگر وزین هفت بادبان کشتی ✓
چه سود داردم آن بادبان و آن لنگر ✓
چو شد ز موج اجل غرق ناگهان کشتی

'Amīd contributed to the enrichment of Persian language by using new words, phrases and compounds, and it is on this account that his writings have been a significant source of information for lexicon-writers. and as referred to earlier, Mīr Jamālud-Dīn Husain Injū Shīrāzi has quoted this poet more than a hundred times in his *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*. A careful reader of 'Amīd's short Dīwān would no doubt come across many hundred significant words and phrases ; but for the present I would confine myself to some of the words and compounds selected by the aforesaid Mīr Jamālud-Dīn Husain.

Words	Meanings	Words	Meanings
سیچغنه	باشه	توزی	کشتی
جناب	گرو	نشانه	علم
نارو	رشته' که برپای و اعضا بر آید	ساج	مرغ کنجد خوار
خنام	مرض مخصوص اسب و استروخر	رخ	غصه
سیرم	دوال	کتخ	چاشنی ترشی
خرم که	خرکه ⁶⁸	کولخ	آتشدان حمام
		بزیچه	سرپایه' سلاخ

Words	Meanings	Words	Meanings
اڑخ	جوشیدگی روی واندام	نجک	تبرزین
بیلک	تیر	کلک	درد سر
کلک	تیرنی	چمک	قدرت و قوت
مترس	چوب کنگره حصار	غپک	گیاه بوریا بافی
آلنگ	حفر و گو	تمرقزک	قرآن
گش	بلغم	خرک	چوبک کاسهٔ عود
تش	آواز موقع استادان ستور	کیک	گره
چشم زخ	چشم زخم	فنک	جانوری که از پوستش
سبغ	نمک		پوستین سازند
سر	شراب	خازه	سرشته
گلگجه	آداب و رسوم مولود طفل	یمک	شهری حسن خیز
جو جو	نام شهری معروف برای	تفک	چوبی میان تهی
	مشک	هلاک	چرم پاره مانند کفه
عودی تخت	آسمان (کنایه)		ترازو که از سر منجنیک
ماکیان زاع	شب (کنایه)		آویخته شود
رنگ		شرنگ	خربزه تلخ
نرگسه	گلی باشد که از عاج و	شفترنگ	شفقالو
	استخوان سازند	آبو	نیلوفر
جوی	گل جوهری	کلاجو	پیاله
جای	گل مخصوص هندوستان	تینگو	نام پادشاهی
پرک	سهیل	بارک	باریک
ترک	خندق گرد قلعه	منغر	ساتنگین
برک	رود خانه	سنگهر	همراه و رفیق
خپک	نان	لمترولمتره	فره

Words	Meanings	Words	Meanings
راز	بنا	آواز جرس و صدای شمشیر	جرنگ
دلستان	معشوق	ترہندہ	آراستہ
رنگ	خجل	تبنگ	دف
اوند	ظرف	چک	چکنده
شکند	جانور خزنده	سوزاک	(مطلق) سوختگی
شیفته	دیوانہ	گاز	نیش دندان
نہمار	عجیب	باب اندر شدن	غایب شدن
شکر برگ	عہر	میختن	شاشیدن
لور کند	پشتہء کندہ سیلاب	دار افزین	پنجرہ پیش در
لوید	گلیمی آکنده گردا گرد	پوپ	کاکل مرغان
	کوهان شتر	چکش	نشینہء باز
یک انداز	نوعی از تیر	مہ دم	نام طائری
گنگ دہ زبان	کنایہ از موسن	پختہ جوش	نوعی از شراب
کچک	میان سر	پلمہ	لوح اطفال
زردہ	اسپ زرد	یار نامہ	نیک نامی
سباروک	کبوتر	میز	تمیز
سوژہ	تیریز جامہ	سرشک	شرارہ آتش
غمخور	بوتیمار	سریچہ	ممولہ
گراز	شجاع	سماکاری	خدمتکاری
نیروز	نو روز	لایچہ	دوای چشم زخم
خون سیاوش	نام داروئی	آژیانہ	فرش سنگ و خشت
پڑ	عقبہ	فانہ	حوض کوچک
شپیل	صفیر	ہفت ونہ	ہفت آرایش و نہ زیور
شاو	دستار بزرگ	تنستہ	بافتہ

Words	Meanings	Words	Meanings
رکابی	کسیکه در رکاب پیاده	تنهوک	کپاده
	رود	آزوری	حرص
گنبد آب	حباب	بتواز	آرامگه
زهره	موج آب	شلیل	شفترنگ
بیسره	شکره	فریبش	فریب دادن
شاور	شاپور (مخفف)	خاتون جهان	کنایه از آفتاب

Reference :

1. One is Sirājud-Dīn Khurāsānī whose Dīwān has been edited by the writer and published by A.M.U. Aligarh in 1972; the other is the eminent Sufi poet Jamālud-Dīn Hānsawī whose Dīwān is available in a printed form.
2. Its only MS. is available in M.A. Library, A.M.U., Aligarh.
3. It has been edited and published in two volumes from Tehran by Mir Sālih Tabībī.
4. A single MS. is lodged in the Govt. MSS. Library, Madras University.
5. Two MSS. of this anthology are available' one in the British Museum, Rieu, Supp. MS. No. 374, and the other in the Kabul University Library.
6. See *Fikr-u Nazar*, A.M.U., Oct. 1964.
7. It has been discussed in an unpublished Ph. D. thesis of Dr. Maria Bilquis, entitled : “*Scattered Persian verses in India till 1290 A.D.*”
8. See Taqi Awhadi's ‘*Arafātul-‘Āshiqān*’, Bankipur MS. fol. 464.
9. Taken from a *Qit‘a* beginning with :

اگر یک ذره نورش را سوی خورشید را هستی

10. Taken from a *Qasīda* beginning with :

ای از نهیب حکم تو خم زده قامت فلک

11. Taken from a *Tarkīb* beginning with :

گلبن دی خورده را باد صبا داد داد

The *Band* begins thus :

خاص بگیتی تراست رافت و انعام عام
رایض دست تو کرد توسن اکرام رام

12. See *Indo-Iranica*, Dec. 1972, pp. 22-29.
 13. The poem is quoted in the *Tārīkh-i Muhammadi*.
 14. In the Dec. 75 and Jan. 76 issues of the *Ma'ārif* Dr. Nūrus-Sa'īd Akhtar of Maharashtra College, Bombay, published an article on 'Amīd in which he has pleaded for this reading. The writer in a separate article published in the *Ma'ārif*, March 76, has refuted most of his claim including this reading of the *nisbat*. It may be interesting to note that in the Mashhad edition of the *Farhang-i Jahāngīri* "Lomki" has been kept in as the text and "Loiki" as an alternate reading at least one hundred times.
 15. It begins with :

چه دهد مرا زمانه بکف از چمانه غم
 بیساط بزم گیتی قدح مسم دمام

16. From two *Qasīdas* beginning with :

سخنی طرازم اکنون که طراز آفرینش

کل رخ من که از برش هست شگوفه سیم بر

17. From the longest *Qasīda* beginning with :

سحرگه دوش بگشادم سر کنج سخن دانی

18. See the *Qit'a* beginning with :

سر انبیا که بی می همه عمر مست اویم

19. From the *Qit'a* beginning with :

فلک است هفت میدان پره سمند اویم

20. From the *Qasīda* beginning with :

دلم چو بسته نقش مهر کثر بین شد

21. It has been supposed that 'Amīd's existing poems are in praise of this prince who has been termed as Nasīrud-Dīn Muhammad son of Balban in 'Amīd's writings.

22. *Muntakhabut-Tawārīkh*, I. p. 99,

چون ذکر عمید که مستوفی جمیع ممالک هندوستان بود درمیان
 آمد ، چیزی از اشعار او که عزیز الوجود است ایراد نمودن
 ضروری بود.

23. Aligarh MS.

24. See the '*Arafātul-Āshiqīn*, Bankipur Ms., fol. 464.

25. *Gul-i Ra'nā*, Bankipur Ms., fol. 166.

26. It is quoted in the *Muntakhabut-Tawārīkh*, I, pp. 109-113.

27. It is quoted both in the *Muntakhab*, vol. I, pp. 123-127, and the *Diwān*,
28. It begins with :

منت ایزد را که شاه هفت کشور می رسد

29. One has *پیل* and the other *ناخن* as *ردیف*
30. the poems begin thus :

(الف) دی درمیان باده صافی مزاج و بنگ
(ب) دارم جفای نو بنو زین چرخ ناخوش منظری

31. See Raverty, Eng. Trans. II., pp. 724-27.
32. It was also the title of Sultan Jalālud-Dīn Khwārazmshāh. Kabīr Khān Ayāz was also styled as *هزاره مرد* which is a Persian equivalent to the Turkish *منگبرنی*. See the *Jahāngushā-i Juwaini*, (حواشی و اضافات) (II, pp. 248-92).
33. Qāsim Dā'ūd Khatīb who dedicated his Persian translation of the '*Awāriful-Ma'ārif*' to Sultan Tājūd-Dīn Abū Bakr calls Kabīr Khan Ayāz as :

ملک کبیر عالم عادل اعظم معظم عزالدنیا والدین غیاث الاسلام
والمسلمین صفدر ایران و توران ابوالحارث منکبرنی ایاز کبیر خانی
حسام امیرالمومنین.

34. See the *Indo-Iranica*, Dec. 1972, the writer's article : "The Oldest Persian Translation of the '*Awāriful-Ma'ārif*,'" pp. 20-50.
35. Kalāti's *Mūnīsul-Ahrār*, pp. 1082-85.
36. For his career see the *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri*, I, pp. 451, 455, 489, Vol. II. pp. 133, 135.
37. Vol. II, p. 27.
38. P.199. See also the writer's article in the *Fikr-o Nazar*, Oct. 1964.
39. The full *Qasīda* is quoted by Prof. Safā in the *Hist. of Iranian Lit.* Vol. I, pp. 531-32. It has been commented upon by Muhammad Surkh Nishāpūri and by Hakīm Nāsir-i Khusrau, *ibid.* pp. 522-23.
40. Foll. 286 a, 348 b.

He says :

بسی گفتم ازین ناگفتنی و جمع هم کردم
یکی جمعی که او در دین نیارد جز پشیمانی
بدین بس نی که این مجموعه کردم از پی شهرت
سراین مجموع فاسد را نهادم مهر دیوانی

41. P. 1148.
42. *Dīwān-i Sūzani*, Tehran Ed. p. 66.
43. Tehran Ed., p. 227-228.
44. Foll. 286, 349.
45. P. 1150.
46. Vol. I, p. 89.
47. P. 32.
48. Vol. I, p. 486.
49. P. 595.
50. Tehran Ed., p. 377.
51. Pp. 160-162.
52. Naficy Ed., p. 166.
53. *Muntakhabut Tawārīkh*, Vol. I p. 96.
54. 'Arafātul-*Āshiqīn*, Fol. 464 a.
55. *Early Persian Poets of India*, p. 205.
56. It is quoted in Kalāti's *Mūnīsul-Ahrār*, pp. 1083-1085.
57. It is quoted in the 'Arafātul-*Āshiqīn* in full and some verses are also quoted in the *Majalla-i Armaghān*, Vol. 21, parts 7-9, pp. 504-506.
58. See *Ganjīna-i Ganjawi*, pp. 241-42. It is also available in the *Dīwān*.
59. Foll. 54-55.
60. It is quoted in the *Dīwān*.
61. It is quoted in the *Dīwān* as in the *Muntakhabut-Tawārīkh*, Vol. I, pp.99-101.
62. The first is quoted both in the *Dīwān* and the *Muntakhabut-Tawārīkh*, pp.101-105. and the second in the *Dīwān* alone.
63. It is quoted in the *Khulāsatul-Ash'ār* (fol. 349 a), *Majmū'a-i Latā'if*, fol. 192a, 'Arafātul-*Āshiqīn* (fol. 46) and *Majma'ut-Fusaha*, p. 894.
64. It is available in Jājarmi's *Mūnīsul-Ahrār*, pp. 134-135, *Khulāsatul-Ash'ār*, fol. 280 and *Majalla-i Armaghān*, Vol. 21, parts 8-9 pp. 500-502.
65. The full poem containing seven *Bands* is quoted in Kalāti's *Mūnīsul-Ahrār*, pp. 1082-1085 under فوافى مکرر ; while six *Bands* are quoted in the *Khulāsatul-Ash'ār* Foll. 290-291, three *Bands* in the 'Arafāt, fol. 464, another three *Bands* in the *Majmū'a-i Latā'if* (Foll. 188-189), two *Bands* in the *Majalla-i Armaghān*, and one *Band* in the *Bayāz-i Yaghmur* (p.330).
66. In the *Bayāz-i Yaghmur* it is quoted under the caption : Ghazal. Dr. Iqbal Husain also treats it as a Ghazal (see *Early Persian Poets of India*, pp. 206-207).
67. All the six are quoted by Badāuni in the *Muntakhabut-Tawārīkh*, Vol. I, pp. 100, 105, 96, 116, 119, 113 respectively. The second is also quoted the *Dīwān* and in the *Majmū'a-i Latā'if*, foll. 9-10.

68. Muhammad b. Qawām Balhki in his *Sharh-i Makhzan* written in 795 A.H. has stated that Sultan Muhammad b. Tughlaq (d. 752) caused **خرمکه** to be called **خرمکه** wherefrom the latter word got currency in Persian (see *Makhzan*, April 1929, *Ma‘ārif*, August 1941 and January 1967). Prof. Mahmud Shirani has quoted the following sentences from the *Tārīkh Firūzshāhi* (p. 71) by Shams Siraj-i ‘Afīf containing the word **خرم گاه**:

بر این نواح آگاهی داد تا خواجه جهان را درین چوڈول سوار
کنند و بخرم گاه ببرند

But the word **خرم گاه** was in use much earlier than the period stated above, because in the *Farhang-i Jahāngiri* (p. 965) it has been illustrated by the following line by Shams Jundi:

از علو همت فراش خرمگاه قدر خیمه قدر ترا بر اوج ”او ادنی“ زده

While the author of the *Majma‘ul-Furs* (p. 476) has obtained two more examples as follows:

تابش رخسار تو از راه چشم کرد خرم گاه دل از ارغوان
(خاقانی)

گاهی صحن هوا خرم گاه اوست گاهی در دامن کوهش مآب است
(عمید لویکی)

But Rashīdi regards **خرم گاه** as the corrupt form of **خور نگاه** (*Farhang-i Rashīdi*, pp. 586, 621)

However, in view of the fact that the word had been in use in Persian, Rashīdi’s opinion cannot be held as correct. And it is also proved that the commentator of the *Makhzan* is wrong in attributing the currency of the word **خرم گاه** to Muhammad b. Tughlaq (see also *Ma‘ārif*, January 1967 p. 18n).

A Note on Shuhra-i Āfāq

Qāzī Abdul Wadūd

The Persian books that I have studied do not contain an account of Shuhra-i Āfāq. Other Persian *tazkiras* that I could not see personally but their list of contents is available, also do not make any reference to this poet. But the fact that there was a poet of this title or pen-name is borne out by two works, *Farhang-i Asadi* and the *tazkira* of Taqi Kāshi.

The author of *Farhang-i Asadi* quotes the following verse of Shuhra-i Āfāq while explaining the meaning of the word *Yāzān* :

ز همه خوبان سوی تو بدان یازم که همه خوبان سوی تو شده یازان

The *tazkira* of Taqi Kāshi was completed under Jehāngīr (1014—37 A.H.). It is in six volumes. A manuscript copy of volume IV of this *tazkira* is preserved in Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna. It begins with the accounts of Hāfiz Shīrāzi and concludes with that of Fanā'ī. At the end of this volume, the author has given the verses of some poets without their biographical accounts. At first, he gives a list of such poets followed by an introduction and then he proceeds to quote their verses. The list of the poets starts from fol. 268 b and the verses end on fol. 394 a. Before giving the list of the poets whose verses are included in the section the author gives the following note :

فهرست شعرائی که شعر ایشان در این مجلد ثبت است و
احوال ایشان بواسطه عدم شهرت یا بسبب آنکه اطلاع بر حالات ایشان
حاصل نشده، یا دیوانی از این جماعت بنظر مطالعه نرسیده، اسمشان
درین تذکره مذکور نیست¹، لیکن بجهت ضبط آن اشعار در آخر مجلد
رابع این کتاب خیر مال این اشعار را در ذیل اسم ایشان مثبت و
مستور ساخته تا فی الجمله بقای نام این طایفه را سببی باشد و یک باره

از زمره فراموشان عدم نباشند ، و بحکم انا نحن انزلنا الذکر و انا له لحافظون از خواطر زاکیه^۱ اولوالباب محو نگردند ، و بالله الاعانه^۲ والتکلان.

Below are reproduced the verses of Shuhra-i Āfāq given by Taqi Kāshi along with his short note on the poet in prose.

شهره آفاق قصیده دارد که از او رباعی بر میخیزد ، و این چهار بیت از آنجمله است :

خستی تو مرا بتیر هجران ناگاه^۲ شدی ز من گریزان
ناگاه زدی و من نبودم آگاه که زخم بود پنهان
یک ذره دل تو نیست با من یکتاه شکسته^۳ تو پیمان
رستی ز من و حدیث باشد کوتاه تو دیر زی و شادان

وله

خسروا عقل جهان جز بتو کامل نکند
بی کمال تو فلک مرتبه حاصل نکند
تو چو ذات ازلی کامل و ذات ازلی
این کمال از تن بی نقص تو زائل نکند
هیچ دارنده چو تو حق مسائل ندهد
هیچ داننده چو تو حل مسائل نکند
کف تو حد کرم جز به کفایت نهد
دل تو کار جهان جز بدلائل نکند
خصمت از ضربت تو جان نبرد تابتنش
آب حیوان عمل زهر هلاهل نکند
مایه^۴ مهر منوچهر^۳ که در کینه سپهر
لقبت جز ملک قاهر قاتل نکند

عقل کل نه فلک و شش رقم نام ترا
نسبت الا بدو مشکل متشاکل نکند
هست خواهنده خواهنده گفت زانکه کرم
در خور خویش کند در خور سائل نکند
گهری کان فتد از مرسله های سخت
عقل جز واسطه عقد مراسل نکند
آسمان مهر تو چون مهر گرفت اندر بر
تا دل و جان بتغافل ز تو غافل نکند

1. As against the statement of the author this section contains the verses of a few poets, for instance, Sanā'i, whose account he has already entered in his *tazkira*. The scribe of the MS. makes frequent mistakes, but guess-correction has been avoided except where the mistake is quite obvious.

2. The words **ناگاه**، **آگاه**، **یکتاه** and **کوتاه** are written in red ink.

3. Minuchihr referred to by Shuhra-i Afāq, is the Ziyāri ruler Falakul-Ma'ālī. Minuchihr b. Qābūs b. Washmgīr, after whose name the poet Minuchehri adopted his pen-name.

Ghālīb and Some of the Classical Persian Poets

Prof. A. A. Ansari

One of the intriguing facts about Ghālīb's psychology as a poet was that he placed a higher valuation over his output in the Persian language than on what he had achieved in the domain of Urdu poetry. Posterity has, however, grudged to put its stamp of approval on his judgment. Ghālīb was of Turkish origin and had a firm grounding in the idiom of the Persian language. This may have been due to his thorough immersion into the classics and thus made him fully articulate in the sensitive use of a foreign tongue. He always had an unconscious craving to be put as high in the hierarchy of poets as one who had lived and breathed in the native soil. Moreover, Persian, compared to Ghālīb's own mother tongue, Urdu, was far richer in content, more diversified in its modes of communication and was inexhaustible in the nuances and subtleties of expression. He, therefore, felt legitimately that real credit would accrue to him if his credentials as a first rate Persian poet could be accepted without any questioning.

It would not be out of place, as a preliminary critical operation, to make a distinction between his early Urdu poetry, heavily loaded and obscured by Persian phrases, and his later experiments in Persian ghazal. His poetry of the early phase bears evidence to his following the idiom of the later Mughal poets writing in Persian, like Shawkat, Jalāl, Faghāni, etc., in fact, the whole host of them expressing themselves in what may be termed as *Sabk-i Hindi*. It is a kind of language which is highly stylized and ornate, sometimes even stilted and tortuous. Ghālīb's early Urdu poetry idiom seems either to crack under the burden and strain of what it has to embody or becomes opaque, turbid and almost unintelligible. This poetry seems to be the product of a genius who is trying to foist an alien culture and idiom over his native speech. It lacks the felicity which results from a completed process of assimilation. In places it becomes, in fact, a jig-saw puzzle for whose explication one has to strain oneself to the utmost and even then it is an unrewarding experience. And the kernel of meaning lying at the heart of this embossed super structure is not really worth much trouble.

Ghālib's Persian poetry proper grows out of an entirely different kind of impulsion. It was written under the inspiration of such masters as Tālib Amuli, Zuhūri, Sa'di, 'Urfi, Nazīri and Hāfiz. It is undoubtedly traditional in the sense that Ghālib is primarily concerned with playing variations on the accepted themes and *motifs* of love-poetry. Though following apparently in the footsteps of the old masters he is, nevertheless, capable of striking his own characteristic posture and style of address. Ghālib's Persian poetry is marked by a finesse, felicity and spontaneity of response. Unlike his earliest Urdu poetry which seems to bear upon it the impress of what might be designated as the rococo, his Persian poetry has a transparency, limpidity and chiselled perfection about it. He does not seem to argue and analyse his emotional reactions as he does in his later Urdu poetry but yields himself to the pressure and urgency of the predicament he is in. Spontaneity and forthrightness are the prime virtues of these ghazals. He has provided us with very fine vignettes of the beloved in his poetry. Emotions of love are also sometimes expressed in the context of his responsiveness to Nature. Through this the emotions come to acquire a degree of clarity and incisiveness and stand out in bold relief. Ghālib is extremely fond of using kinetic imagery in his love poetry and this betrays his predilection towards a certain dynamism in his approach to things. Many of these vignettes produced by Ghālib are alluring and are quickly rivetted in the mind of the reader. He is greatly attracted by the beauty of the beloved and the pictures drawn by him evoke a sensuous presence. Here are a few examples of his matchless art of portrayal which are grasped in a single instant of perception :

بتی دارم از اهل دل رم گرفته بشوخی دل از خویشتن هم گرفته
 رگ غمزه از نیش مژگان کشوده سرفتنه در زلف پر خم گرفته
 گهی طعنه بر لحن مطرب سروده گهی خورده بر نطق همدم گرفته
 برویش ز گرمی نگه تاب خورده بکویش برفتن صبا دم گرفته

تا بم ز دل برد کافر ادائی بالا بلندی کوته قبائی
 از خوی ناخوش دوزخ نهیبی وز روی دلکش مینو لقائی
 از زلف پر خم مشکین نقابی وز تابش تن زرین ردائی

رفت آنکه کسب بوی تو از باد کردمی گل دیدمی و روی ترا یاد کردمی
رفت آنکه گربراه توجان دادمی ز ذوق از موج گرد ره نفس ایجاد کردمی
رفت آنکه جانب رخ و قدت گرفتمی در جلوه بحث با گل و شمشاد کردمی

As mentioned earlier Ghālib tried all his life to emulate the example of some of the greatest masters of the Persian language. But it is also worth pondering that in his reference to them in his prose writings he leaves out specific mention of those to whom he must have been deeply indebted, in virtue of his temperamental affinity, and highlights those with whom he had only a casual kinship of soul. This act of giving a false scent to the reader in regard to his actual source of inspiration bears a curious resemblance to the practice of some of the great Medieval English poets, like Chaucer and Langland, who were given to citing wrong authorities in confirmation of their own insights.

Looking up the formidable corpus of his ghazals one is struck by the fact that Ghālib bears a close similarity, among others, to 'Urfi, Nazīri and Hāfiz. There are ghazals written by all four of them, including Ghālib, in the same stanzaic pattern. Though comparison of single ghazals written by poets of divergent literary persuasion in the same metrical scheme need not necessarily lead us to any definite conclusion about the genius of any of them, yet it does help us arrive at some tentative deductions. Let us, therefore, inspect some specimens of their respective ghazals, and begin with a ghazal each by 'Urfi and Ghālib :

غالب

خوشم که گنبد چرخ کهن فرو ریزد
اگرچه خود همه برفرق من فرو ریزد
ز جوش شکوه بیداد دوست میترسم
مباد مهر سکوت از دهن فرو ریزد
مراچه قدر بکوئی که نازنینان را
غبار بادیه از پیرهن فرو ریزد
ترا که عالم نازی بغمزه بستاید
کسی که گل بکنار چمن فرو ریزد

عرفی

نسیم عشق چو برگ سمن فروریزد
جگر ز ناله 'مرغ چمن فرو ریزد
فلاک نظر بکه دارد که پیش غمزه او
هزار ناوک جادو فگن فرو ریزد
اجل بصید که ناز او شود پامال
زبس که بر سر هم جان و تن فرو ریزد
نهفته بر لب شیرین اگرزنی انگشت
فسانه های غم کوهکن فرو ریزد

اگر شکسته دلم آستین بر افشاند بترمس زانکه بمحشر زطره طرار
جهان جهان غمش از هر شکن فروریزد دل شکسته ام از هر شکن فروریزد
که لاف حوصله زد گویمان دمی که لبم رواست غالب اگر در قائلش گوئی
حدیث عرفی خونین کفن فروریزد که از لبش زروانی سخن فروریزد

In my judgment Ghālib's ghazal is almost as good as that of 'Urfi and it is difficult to choose between the two of them. Ghālib always felt a sense of admiration for Nazīri and hankered after the simplicity, finesse and perfect fusion of word and image in Nazīri. One ghazal from each is cited below :

نظیری

نظربه ظاهر و صیاد در قفاخفت است
اجل رسیده چه داند بلاکجا خفت است
کجا ز عشوه آن چشم نیم باز رهیم
که فتنه ساخته از خواب و پای ماخفت است
شمیم مهر ز باغ وفا نمی آید
بهر چمن که تو بشگفته صباخفت است
طیب عشق ببرد طمع ز بیماری
که شب براحات ازین درد بی دواخفت است
کس از معانقه روز وصل یابد ذوق
که چند شب زهم آغوش خود جدا خفت است
شب امید به از صبح عید می گذرد
که آشنا به تمنای آشنا خفت است
غالب

بودایی که در آن خضر را عصاخفت است
بسینه می سپرم ره اگرچه پاخفت است
بدین نیاز که با تست ناز می رسدم

گدا بسایه^۱ دیوار پادشا خفت است
 خروش حلقه^۲ زندان ز نازنین پسری است
 که سر بزانوی زاهد به بوریا خفت است
 هوا مخالف و شب تار و بحر طوفان خیز
 گسسته لنگر کشتی و ناخدا خفت است
 درازی شب و بیداری من این همه نیست
 ز بخت من خبر آرید تا کجا خفت است
 براه خفتن من هر که بنگرد داند
 که میر قافله در کاروانسرا خفت است

Ghālib's fourth couplet is undoubtedly excellent in point of its imagistic pattern but as a whole Nazīri excels Ghālib without any shadow of doubt. Lastly, let us juxtapose Hāfiz and Ghālib as two supreme masters of ghazal:

حافظ

خیز و در کاسه^۱ زر آب طربناک انداز
 پیشتر زانکه شود کاسه^۲ سر خاک انداز
 عاقبت منزل ما وادی خاموشا نست
 حالیا غلغله در گنبد افلاک انداز
 چشم آلوده نظر از رخ جانان دور است
 بر رخ او نظر از آینه^۳ پاک انداز
 غسل در اشک زدم کاهل طریقت گویند
 پاک شو اول و پس دیده بر آن پاک انداز
 یا رب آن زاهد خود بین که بجز عیب ندید
 دود آهیش در آینه^۴ ادراک انداز
 چون گل از نکبت او جامه قباکن حافظ
 وین قبا در ره آن قامت چالاک انداز

غالب

ای ذوق نوا سنجی بازم بخروش آور
 غوغای شبیخونی بر بنگه هوش آور
 گر خود زجهد از سر از دیده فرو بارم
 دل خون کن و آن خون را در سینه بجوش آور
 هان همدم فرزانه دانی ره ویرانه
 شمع می که نخواهد شد از باد خموش ، آور
 ریحان دمد از مینا ، رامش چکد از قلقل
 آن در ره چشم افکن ، این از پی گوش آور
 گاهی به سبکدستی از باده زخویشم بر
 گاهی به سیه مستی از نغمه بهوش آور
 غالب که بقایش باد همپای تو گر ناید
 باری غزلی ، فردی زان موینه پوش آور

Each of these two ghazals is the best of its kind and is regarded as a masterpiece. Both of them are marked by a degree of ecstasy and abandon as well as full and complete assertion of the ego. They are characterized by that richness of experience and power of assimilation which is often found in a fully articulated lyrical poem or ghazal. Ghālib, in a letter to Munshi Nabi Baksh Haqīr, rated this ghazal very highly. And though Hāfiz's opinion about his own ghazal is not known to us, yet he, too, must have been aware of the merit of his achievement.

As an Indian poet writing in Persian, Ghālib has no rival except, perhaps, Amīr Khusraw who manages a greater range of feeling and writes in a more perspicuous medium. Ghālib's ghazals are marked by clarity, suppleness and distinction, and reflect a very cultivated poetic personality. And yet the originality and freshness of 'Urfī, the perfect authenticity of tone of Nazīrī and the glow and passion of Hāfiz remain only ideals to be achieved by Ghālib. What Ghālib does achieve are the subtle overtones of these poets, combined with a contemplative attitude of mind. Persian had undoubtedly assumed, during the glorious days of the Mughals, an impregnable position and was recognized, among the elite, as the language of culture and sophistication. It continues to enjoy the same status even today though

its vogue in India suffered a set-back after the unsuccessful war of independence in 1857. In the case of Ghālib, however, it is worth some consideration that though he does not reach the heights of the Parnassus as Sa'di, Nazīri and Hāfiz do, yet the Persianized diction evolved by him for his later Urdu poetry is both unique and indefinable and one which can be challenged by Iqbāl's alone among the Urdu poets of the entire subcontinent.

Rūmi and Iqbāl — Stylistic Parallels

Dr. Sayyid Naimuddin

Although Iqbāl dissociated himself largely from the traditional mystical element in Rūmi and other Persian poets, he, nevertheless, appreciated dynamic elements in Rūmi. Since he absorbed Rūmi most, it is not surprising that, despite a distinctive style of his own, he, not only followed Rūmi's philosophy to a considerable extent, but also used Rūmian phraseology to convey his message. Even in his prose works he sought support from Rūmi's poetry as his lectures on the *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* reveal. His poetical works are, of course, full of Rūmian verses and terms. While dealing with similarities in Iqbāl's concept of love, the ideal man and freewill, in my articles published in the *Islamic Culture*, I have already shown how Iqbāl followed Rūmi and also made departures from him.¹

Iqbāl seems to have read Rūmi since the early period of his career as a poet. In a poem entitled 'Dard-i 'Ishq' written before 1905 he referred to the Rūmian 'ney' (reed-flute) and its lamentation :—

گویا زبان شاعر رنگیں بیاں نہ ہو آواز نے میں شکوہ فرقت نہاں نہ ہو²

So also his Urdu poem *Gul-i Pazhmurdah* alludes to it :—

ہمچونی از نیستان خود حکایت می کنم بشنوائی گل ! از جدائیها شکایت می کنم³

His Persian works are also full of references to the 'ney', although in a traditional flat manner most unlike of Iqbāl :

ضربت روزگار اگر ناله چونی دهد ترا بادہ من ز کف بنہ چارہ ز مومیا طلب⁴

در تلاش جلوہ های پی بہ پی طی کنم افلاک و می نالم چونی⁵

Rūmi's monumental *Mathnawi* begins with the outbursts of soul's grief at its separation from the Source, as is symbolized in the wailing notes of the *ney*. Iqbāl, on the other hand, asserts the value of separation!

از فراق است آرزو ها سینه تاب تو نمائی چون شود او بیحجاب
از جدائی گرچه جان آید بلب وصل او کم جو رضای او طلب⁶

Although he differed from Rūmi in this respect, he appreciated Rūmian views on love and man. This process of absorption and distinction began to crystallize with his first philosophical poem, *Asrār-i Khudi* that is, by the year 1915. We come across many phrases, symbols and quotations from the *Mathnawi* and *Ghazals* of Rūmi in the *Asrār*. For example, mark the following lines from the *Asrār* and their correspondence.

Iqbāl :

خاک نبرد از فیض او چالاک شد آمد اندر وجد و بر افلاک شد

Rūmi :

جسم خاک از عشق بر افلاک شد کوه در رقص آمد و چالاک شد

Iqbāl :

عشق افلاطون علت های عقل به شود از نشترش سودای عقل

Rūmi :

شاد باشای عشق خوش سودای ما ای طیب جمله علت های ما

ای دوی نخوت و ناموس ما ای تو افلاطون و جالینوس ما

Iqbāl :

با تو می گویم حدیث دیگری

Rūmi :

گفته آید در حدیث دیگران

Iqbāl occasionally used the same metres and rhymes as employed by his master. The metre of his *Asrār* is the same as that of Rūmi's *Mathnawi*, that is, *Ramal musaddas mahzūf*. In two of his ghazals Iqbāl also used the metres and rhymes of Rūmi's ghazals :

Rūmi :

ای یار مقام دل پیش آی و دمی کم زن

زخمی که زنی بر ما مهردانه و محکم زن⁷

Iqbāl :

با نشه⁸ درویشی در ساز و دما دم زن
چون پخته شوی خود را بر سلطنت جم زن⁸

Rūmi :

هر نفس آواز عشق میرسد از چپ و راست
ما بفلک میرویم عزم تماشا کراست⁹

Iqbāl :

گریه¹⁰ ما بی اثر ناله¹⁰ ما نارساست
حاصل این سوز و ساز یک دل خونین نواست¹⁰

So also the following ghazals recall Rūmi :

Rūmi :

ساربانان اشتران بین سر بسر قطار مست
میر مست و خواجه مست و یار مست اغیار مست¹¹

Iqbāl :

از دیر مغان آیم بی گردش صہبا مست
در منزل لا بودم از بادۂ الا مست¹²

Rūmi :

بنمای رخ که باغ و گلستانم آرزوست
بگشای لب که قند فراوانم آرزوست¹³

Iqbāl :

تیر و سنان و خنجر و شمشیرم آرزوست
با من بیا که مسلک شبیرم آرزوست¹⁴

The *Asrār* contains two allegorical stories to illustrate the Iqbālīan philosophy of self-affirmation. But Iqbāl did not employ this device to the extent Rūmi did in his *Mathnawī*.

Iqbāl also offered quotations from Rūmi in his second Persian *Mathnawī*, *Rumūz-i Bīkhudī* ; for example, in connection with the praise of the Prophet ;

مگسل از ختم الرسل ایام خویش تکیہ کم کن برفن و برگام خوش¹⁵

Prof. Arberry, the translator of the '*Rumūz*' has not noticed the discrepancy in this Rūmian citation. He simply says, 'Iqbal quotes from Rumi.'¹⁶ However, I have pointed out in my article on 'The Ideal Man in Rumi and Iqbal' that Iqbāl here has cited the above verse in a slightly changed form. The actual couplet is :

مگسل از پیغمبر ایام خویش تکیہ کم کن برفن و برگام خوش¹⁷

Relying on his memory Iqbāl unwittingly recorded '*Khatm al-Rusul*' in place of '*Payghambar*'. Rūmī is here speaking about the *pīr* whom he generally calls, 'the prophet of his age'. The preceding line (No. 540) of the Vol. IV of the *Mathnawī* where this verse occurs and again the subsequent line (No. 544) amply establish the fact that here Rūmī is referring to the *pīr* and not the Prophet. It is to be noted that Iqbāl never follows Rūmī in calling the *pīr* as the 'prophet of his age.'

However, Iqbāl has enormous respect for spiritual heroes and saints. He often compares them to old prophets like Abraham and Moses. Iqbāl shares Rūmī's fondness for antithetically paired terms like Abraham and Nimrūd, Moses and Pharoah to denote preference for the God-loving persons of the spiritual eminence of Abraham and Moses as against the self-loving, unbelieving Pharoah and Nimrūd. We need, says Rūmī, patience and courage like Abraham and Moses to subdue sensual desires. Thus, purifying ourselves, we can face all trials boldly.¹⁸

Iqbāl uses the symbols of Abraham and Moses to denote defiance against evil forces rather than evil passions, thus making his symbols fully meaningful for his age. He often speaks of fighting against odds like Moses by developing strength like him (*zarb-i Kalīmī*). At the same time he points out that even a Moses-like saint can be a curse to his country if he secretly supports the tyrannical selfish ruler :

هو اگر قوت فرعون کی در پردہ مرید
قوم کے حق میں ہے لعنت و کلیم اللہی¹⁹

Elsewhere he dramatizes a contemporary situation with reference to the fire of Nimrūd :

آگ ہے، اولاد ابراہیم ہے، نمرود ہے
کیا کسی کو پھر کسی کا امتحان مقصود ہے²⁰

Iqbāl and Rūmi often speak in terms of *sher* (lion), and *rūbāh* (fox) :

Rūmi :

²¹ هست اندر نقش این روباه شیر سوی این روبه نشاید شد دلیر

²² همچو آن روباه کم اشکم کنید پیش او روباه بازی کم کنید

Iqbāl :

یہ نکتہ پیر دانا نے مجھے خلوت میں سمجھایا
²³ کہ ہے ضبط فغاں شیری ، فغاں روباہی و میشی

Iqbāl also uses the same terms to express his contempt for corrupt religious leaders of his time :

دین شیری میں غلاموں کے امام اور شیوخ
²⁴ دیکھتے ہیں فقط اک فلسفہ روباہی

How Iqbāl wished we behaved like lions in the world after becoming submissive to God as the fox is to the lion !

رو بہی بگذار و شیری پیشہ گیر
رو بہ حق باش و شیری پیشہ کن
(جاوید نامہ)
(ایضاً)

The man functioning bravely as the lion, is the perfect man whom Rūmi and Iqbāl call '*bāz*', '*shāhbāz*' and '*shāhīn*'. The idea that the falcon does not prey upon a dead bird is also from Rūmi.

The falcon-like saint possesses Divine attributes; he is '*Khudā-khūy*' in the terminology of Rūmi and '*Mawlā-sifat*' in the words of Iqbāl. He gains immortality by living with God :

زیستن با حق حیات مطلق است
(زبورعجم)

The phrase '*Bā Haq*' is from Rūmi :

²⁵ بامن و تو مرده ، با حق زندہ اند

The perfect saint practises spiritual poverty (*faqr*) and has attained a moral standard by which others are to be judged :

من چو میزان خدایم درجهان وا نمایم هر سبک را از گران²⁶

Iqbāl, too, uses the term *mizān* in this connection:

قدرت کے مقاصد کا عیار اس کے ارادے

دنیا میں بھی میزان ، قیامت میں بھی میزان²⁷

It is the 'below standard', materialistic man who would change the Quran rather than change himself. Hence Rūmi says :

Interpret yourself, not the Quran.⁽²⁸⁾

Reacting similarly to the perverse interpretation of the Quran and using the same phraseology in Urdu, Iqbāl says.

خود بدلتے نہیں قرآن کو بدل دیتے ہیں

ہوئے کس درجہ فقیہان حرم بے توفیق²⁹

But the true believer is devoted to the Quran in the right spirit. Although living in the world he is oriented towards the other world. Rūmi and Iqbāl would say he is born in the other world (*zāda-i thāni*).

Rūmi :

همچو جان بی گریه و بی خنده شد جانش رفت و جان دیگر زنده شد³⁰

ای آنک بزادیت چو در مرگ رسیدید

این زادن ثانیست ، بزائید ، بزائید³¹

Iqbāl :

مردم اندر کائنات رنگ و بو زادم اندر عالم بی های وهو (جاویدنامہ)

جان بیداری چو زاید در بدن لرزہا افتد درین دیر کھن (ایضاً)

The reborn is called '*āsmāni*' as against the '*zamīni*', the one clinging to this world in the *Jāvid-nāma* in which Iqbāl comes closest to Rūmi in respect of themes as well as expressions. (It is in the *Jāvid-nāma* that Iqbāl used archaic expression, like *kūr* and *kabūd*, current in the usage of old poets

like Rūmi and Khāqāni.) It is in this book that Iqbāl, following Rūmi speaks more emphatically of the eternal realm of spacelessness and timelessness. Although conscious of the need to conquer the external world Iqbāl, does not forget the more enduring world of the spirit. Human destiny lies beyond the temporal world, according to the Quran:

والی ربك المنتهى

This is also the keynote of the famous Rūmian ghazal beginning with

هر نفس آواز عشق میرسد از چپ و راست
ما بفلک میرویم عزم تماشا کراست³²

—the ghazal which won the admiration of Sufis and poets from Sa'di to Iqbāl. Iqbāl is especially charmed by the couplet :

خود ز فلک بر تریم وز ملک افزون تریم
زین دو چرا نگذریم ؟ منزل ما کبریا ست

In the ghazal written parallel to it, Iqbāl has used the Rūmian expression
تماشا کراست The world of *Kibriyā* is one of '*bijahati*' and '*bisū'i*'.

Rūmi :

بلک باید دل سوی بی سوی بست نحس این سو عکس نحس بی سوست³³
Iqbāl :

عاشقی ؟ از سو به بیسوئی خرام مرگ را بر خویشتن گردان حرام
(جاوید نامه)

This is the world of '*Jān*' and '*dil*'. Rūmi and Iqbāl get lyrical while describing it. Iqbāl imagines himself to have entered it in, the *Jāvīd-nāma* thus :

در گذشتم از حد این کائنات پا نهادم در جهان بی جهات
بی پیمین و بی یسار است این جهان فارغ از لیل و نهار است این جهان

چیست دل ؟ یک عالم بی رنگ و بوست
عالم بی رنگ و بو، بی چار سوست

This is the central and recurrent theme of Rūmi and Iqbāl, their main aim being the transformation of 'gil' and 'jism' into 'dil' and 'jān'.

Rūmi :

ز آنک ازیشان دولت و خلعت رسد در پناه روح جان گردد جسد³⁴

Iqbāl :

لا اله کوئی بگو از روی جان تا ز اندام تو آید بوی جان
(جاوید نامه)

Intuitive insight (*nazar*) and knowledge of the essence of things lead one to this stage of perfection. True knowledge is that which touches the heart. Knowledge which does not become part and parcel of the inmost core of our personality is dangerous and poisonous like a snake :

علم را هر تن زنی ماری شود علم را بر دل زنی یاری شود

This is also one of those famous Rūmian lines which won the heart of thinkers and Sufis down the ages. It has been quoted by Shāh Wali Allāh and Mīr Dard of Delhi. It also appealed to Iqbāl immensely. Apart from the overt reference in the *Asrār*, there are implicit references to it in his various works. For example, *Jāvīd-nāma* :

علم با سوز درون آمیخته

علم را بی سوز دل خوانی شر است

Allied to this is the Rūmian term *jazb-i darūn*, (*sūz-i darūn*) which is also favourite with Iqbāl and has become a part of his poetic vocabulary.

Rūmi :

کسب دین عشقست و جذب اندرون قابلیت نور حق را ای حرون³⁵

Iqbāl :

عقل دادی هم جنونی ده مرا ره بجزب اندرونی ده مرا (جاوید نامه)

در بر شان حله های لاله گون چهره ها رخشنده از سوز درون (جاوید نامه)

دمبدم سوز درون او فزود بر لبش بیتی که صد بارش سرود (جاوید نامه)

آن نواکز جان تو آید برون می دهد هر سینه را سوز درون (جاوید نامه)

Somewhat similar in connotation are the terms 'nazar' and 'zīkr', in contrast with 'khabar' and 'fīkr', implying barren, formal knowledge condemned by Sufis like Sanā'i, 'Attār and Rūmi. In this context expression, 'aql wa 'ishq', of course, tops the list. The Persian and Urdu works of Iqbāl are replete with them. 'Aql', as typified in the philosophy of Rāzi, does not lead us to spiritual truths. The illustrious Sufi Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, on hearing Rāzi claim capability to give hundred proof of God's existence, is reported to have reprimanded him thus, "Does not the need of giving proof reveal the existence of doubt? A Sufi has in his heart a light of conviction which dispels darkness of doubt."³⁶ Rūmi, too, ridiculed Rāzi in the *Mathnawī*. So also Iqbāl regarded Rāzi as the personification of 'aql' and declared :

علاج ضعف یقین ان سے ہو نہیں سکتا
³⁷ غریب اگر چہ ہیں رازی کے نکتہ ہائے دقیق

Iqbāl also used the terms 'dānish' and 'zīraki' for 'aql' and called it *zu-funūn*.
 Rūmi :

ز دانشها بشویم دل ، ز خود خود را کنم غافل
³⁸ کہ سوی دلبر مقبل نشاید ذو فنون رفتن

Iqbāl:

عقل را اندر جهانی ذو فنون در جهان دیگری خوار و زبون (جاوید ناموہ)

What is remarkable is that Iqbāl widened the meaning of 'ishq to include devotion to ideals and creativity.

Another pair of terms common to Rūmi and Iqbāl is *lā* and *illā*.
 Rūmi :

³⁹ ز آنک در الاست او از لا گذشت هر یک در الاست او فانی نگشت

⁴⁰ لا شدی پهلوی الا خانه گیر این عجب کہ ہم اسیری ہم امیر

Iqbāl :

روس را قلب و جگر گردید خون از ضمیرش حرف لا آمد برون
 فکر او در تند باد لا بماند مرکب خود را سوی الا نراند⁴¹

لبالب شیشہ تہذیب حاضر ہے مے لا سے
مگر ساقی کے ہاتھوں میں نہیں پیمانہ⁴² الا

Note how Iqbāl has given a new turn to the use of *la* and *illa* and made it relevant to his age. He has also invented new combinations like '*qāhiri wa dilbari*'.

The following underlined words in the works of Iqbāl are also traceable in Rūmi :

- (الف) ای بسا آدم کہ ابلیسی کند (پیام مشرق)
(ب) از سستی عناصر انسان دلش تپید (پیام مشرق)
(ج) گر چہ از خاکم نروید جز کلام (جاوید نامہ)
(د) فاش باید گفت سر دلبران (جاوید نامہ)
(ه) مردن بی برگ و بی گور و کفن ؟ (ایضاً)
(و) با رستم دستان زن ، با مغبچہ ها کم زن (زبور عجم)

Rūmian verses

- (۱) مطرب عشق این زند وقت سماع بندگی بند و خداوندی صداع
(۲) در حقیقت هر عدو داروی تست کیمیا و نافع و دلجوی تست

also find their echoes in the verses of Iqbāl :

- (۱) خدائی اہتمام خشک و تر ہے خداوندا خدائی درد سر ہے
و لیکن بندگی استغفر اللہ یہ درد سر نہیں درد جگر ہے
(بال جبریل)
(۲) راست میگویم عدو ہم یار تست هستی او رونق بازار تست
(اسرار خودی)

Some of Iqbālīan verses appear similar to Rūmi because their source is the same. Some are taken from Quran:

Rūmi :

دست اورا حق چو دست خویش خواند تا یدالله فوق ایدیهم براند⁴³

چون قبول حق بود آن مرد راست دست او در کارها دست خداست⁴⁴

Iqbāl :

هات ہے اللہ کا بندہ مومن کا ہات غالب و کار آفریں، کار کشا، کار ساز

Others refer to Hadith :

Rūmi :

از اسلم شیطانی، شد نفس تو ربانی ابلیس مسلمان شد، تا باد چنین بادا⁴⁵

Iqbāl :

کشتن ابلیس کاری مشکل است زانکہ او کم اندر اعماق دل است
خوشتتر آن باشد مسلمانش کنی کشته شمشیر قرآنش کنی (جاویدنامہ)

It is seen that Iqbāl comes very near Rūmi in his last works like *Mathnawī-i pas chih bāyad kard ay aqwām-i sharq* where he has even used the words like 'tawakkul' and 'fanā' reminiscent of old Sufistic philosophy:

مومن از عزم و توکل قاهر است

چون فنا اندر رضای حق شود بندہ مومن قضای حق شود

But it is noteworthy that Iqbāl is mostly impressed and inspired by Rūmi's triumphant expressions like :

ہزیر کنگرہ کبریاش مردانند فرشتہ صید و پیمبر شکار و یزدان گیر

What a grand conception ! Man hunting the angels, the prophet and God. Naturally this appealed to Iqbāl's imagination tremendously. Its echoes are found at more than one place:

عاشقی ؟ محکم شو از تقلید یار تا کمند تو شود یزدان شکار (اسرار خودی)

تو ملک صیدستی و یزدان شکار (پیام مشرق)

ترے صید زبون افرشته و حور (بال جبریل)

Another old expression of Rūmi is :

غم مخور یاوہ نگرده او ز تو بلکه عالم یاوہ گردد اندرو

Iqbāl was so enamoured of this style that he composed five couplets in different works in this manner :

عبد گردد یاوہ در لیل و نہار در دل حریاوہ گردد روزگار

می نگنجد مسلم اندر مرزو بوم در دل او یاوہ گردد شام و روم

آنچه در آدم بگنجد عالم است آنچه در عالم نگنجد آدم است

ہر کہ حرف لا الہ از بر کند عالمی را گم بخویش اندر کند

کافر کی یہ پہچان کہ آفاق میں گم ہے
مومن کی یہ پہچان کہ گم اس میں ہیں آفاق

While Iqbāl liked to adopt such buoyant expressions from Rūmi, he would not care to use favourite Rūmian terms like '*rastan*', '*adam*' and '*hijāb*', for, they did not suit his purpose. Rūmi's concept of '*khudi*' and '*bikhudi*' is also traditional, '*khudi*' implying self-existence and self-will, and '*bikhudi*' meaning unconsciousness of self :

پس خودی را سر ببری ذوالفقار بیخودی شو فانہی درویش وار

Being an original thinker and poet, Iqbāl evolved his own style and terminology. He impregnated *khudi* and '*ishq*' with pragmatic implications, relating them to situations of his own age. He chose and incorporated only the dynamic concepts and expressions of Rūmi. He, thus, enjoys a unique position among the followers of Rūmi from the time of Sultān Valad and Jāmi through Sā'ib and Hazīn to the twentieth century Amjad Hyderābādī.

Foot-notes

Abbreviations used are as follows :

- AS-RU: Combined edition of *Asrār-i Khudī* and *Rumūz-i Bīkhudī* Lahore, 1940.
 BD : *Bang-i Darā*, Third edition, March, 1930.
 BJ : *Bāl-i Jibrīl*, Lahore, 1935.
 DK : *Zarb-i Kalām*, Fourth edition, Lahore, September, 1944.
 J : *Jāvd-nama*, Lahore (undated).
 K : *Kulliyāt-i Shams-i Tabriz*, ed. Prof. Badi' al-Zamān Fūrūzānfar, I-VIII, Tehran, 1377-1386 A.H.
 KF : *Kulliyāt-i Iqbāl* (Farsi), Delhi, 1962.
 M : *Mathnawī of Jalāluddīn Rūmī*, Nicholson edition.
 PM : *Payām-i Mashriq*, Lahore (undated).
 ZA : *Zabūr-i 'Ajam*, Lahore.

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1. *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, Issues of October 1968 (Vol. XLII, No.4), April 1971, July 1972.
 2. BD/p. 40.
 3. BD/p. 41.
 4. ZA/p. 163, KF/p. 83.
 5. J/p. 134; also see KF pp. 51, 71, (الف) در حضورش بنده می نالد چونی
 (ب) بنده اندر جهان نالان چونی
 6. KF, p. 52 of پس چه باید کردای اقوام شرق
 7. K/IV, ghazal No. 1875.
 8. KF, p. 55 of *Zabūr-i 'Ajam*.
 9. K/I, ghazal No. 463.
 10. PM, p. 204.
 11. K/I, ghazal No. 390.
 12. KF (*Mathnawī Musāfir*, p. 20).
 13. K/I, ghazal No. 441.
 14. PM, p. 185.
 15. (AS)-RU/ p. 152.
 16. A.J. Arberry (Tr.) : *The Mysteries of Selflessness*, London, 1953, p. 90.
 17. M/IV, verse No. 543.
 18. K/VI, verses 30163, 30176 and 30177.
 19. ZK, p. 161.
 20. BD (*Khizr-i Rāh*), p. 290.
 21. M/I, 3127.
 22. M/I, 3137.

23. ZK/p. 134.
24. ZK/p. 161.
25. M/I, 838, also M/I, 2750, V, 1550.
26. M/II, 2091.
27. ZK/p. 57.
28. M/I, 1080, also see M/I, 3744.
29. ZK/p. 14. Also see BJ/p. 33.
30. M/I, 2209.
31. K/II, 6848.
32. K/I, Ghazal No. 463.
33. M/VI, 3160.
34. M/II, 2587, also see M/III, 1421.
35. M/II, 2601.
36. M. M. Sharif (Ed.) : *A History of Muslim Philosophy*, Vol. I, Article by S. H. Nasr, p. 654, note No. 33, Wiesbaden, 1963.
37. BJ/p. 54.
38. K/IV, 19447.
39. M/I, 3054.
40. M/IV, 2948.
41. KF/ (*Pas cheh bayād kard*), p. 42.
42. BJ/p. 18.
43. M/I, 2972.
44. M/I, 1610.
45. K/I, 953.

Some Valuable and Hitherto Unknown Persian Anthologies in Indian Libraries and Museums

Prof. S.A.H. Abidi

Persian language possesses a peculiar charm and grace, and even foreigners like Turks and Mangols adopted it as their court language and consequently its literature flourished during their reign, which lasted for centuries and extended far beyond the frontiers of Iran.

The people of Iran have, since times immemorial, evinced deep interest in poetry and music. The tradition has been that musicians like Bārbad and Nakīsā adorned the court of Khusrau Parviz. As a rule, poetry and music go together. Minstrels sing what the poets have composed.

Following the Arab conquest of Iran, Arabic language and literature dominated the literary scene for about two centuries. But ultimately we see the resurrection of the dormant spirit of Iran and read of poets like Abu Hafs Sughdi, 'Abbās Marvzi and Hanzala Bādghīsi, who composed in Persian as early as the third century of Hijra (ninth century A.D.)

The development of Persian poetry was phenomenal in the period known as post-independence era, which marks the establishment of such dynasties as Saffarids (254-90/868-903) and Samanids (261-389/874-999) who paid only nominal homage to the authority of the Abbasid Caliphs (132-656/750-1258). The first great poet of this period is indisputably Rūdaki (d. 329/941). As successive Persian dynasties rose to power and asserted their authority, the political influence of the Caliphs and the prestige of the Arabic language declined. The end of the Caliphate in the middle of the seventh century A.H./thirteenth century A.D. adversely affected the position of Arabic and enhanced the development of Persian language and literature.

As the volume of literature increased, the language developed into a perfect medium of conveying all shades of thoughts and emotions. Poets

were very much in demand in the courts of kings and parlours of nobles. 'Unsuri (350-431/961-1040-41) amassed fabulous wealth as has been referred to by Khāqāni :—

شنیدم که از نقره زد دیگدان ز زر ساخت آلات خوان عنصری

Persian language is characterized by some subtle qualities, which make it easy to learn and pleasant to speak. Muslim rulers whether Iranians or Afghans, Turks or Mangols, took a fancy to the language and patronized poets and men of letters.

People from Persian speaking regions migrated and settled in territories as far flung as India and Asia Minor. They carried with them their language and literature, which found the new environment conducive to their rapid growth. The language itself with its inherent melliflence conveniently lends itself to be shaped into a metrical form. Consequently the tribe of poets multiplied enormously.

Enriched by the vast contribution made by myriads of poets, Persian poetry evolved glorious traditions and won universal recognition. Persian poetry has provided intellectual and moral sustenance to nations. It has inspired thinkers, has been cherished by kings and nobles and nurtured by mystics and writers over the centuries. No other language can claim such a large number of poets, although most of them have gone into oblivion. Among these poets, we find men and women, peasants and kings, nobles and politicians, traders and merchants, goldsmiths and bakers, saints and sinners. Persian poetry is unique in as much as it is difficult to assess the magnitude of its volume. Unfortunately a large part of it has been lost to us. However, whatever has remained has been preserved through precious manuscripts and priceless anthologies.

Among these countless poets, there were first rate composers, mediocres and poetasters. Their works were available only in manuscripts. The manuscripts of the top-ranking poets were forthwith transcribed and widely read. People with sound literary taste noted down in their *bayāzes* (anthologies) the lines that appealed to them. Even the study of the compositions of a mediocre poet, here and there, yielded verses of remarkable originality which found their way into an anthology. Thus started the practice of writing *bayāz*.

There are innumerable anthologies in Persian; and, perhaps no other language can boast of such a large number of anthologies. These anthologies hold a prominent place in Persian literature. Even a poet of the

eminence of Sā'ib maintained a *bayāz* popularly known as *safīna* (anthology). Besides giving us an insight into the literary taste of the anthologists, these collections preserve for the posterity specimens of the poetry of those poets whose works are either no longer extant or are gathering dust in some collections. Moreover in these anthologies we more often than not come across the choicest compositions of great masters.

The anthologists have rendered a valuable service indeed by furnishing us with a clue about the number of poets who have so far remained in oblivion. They have also assessed the worth of their literary output. But so far no thorough and systematic survey of such anthologies has been done in India, while countless rare and precious manuscripts of anthologies may be traced in the libraries and private collections in every nook and corner of this vast country. These anthologies can throw a flood of light on the hitherto unknown material and may help us in the reconstruction of the history of Indo-Iranian culture. It is high time that the value of the contribution that the anthologists have made to the study of Persian literature is duly recognised and steps are taken to trace and publish such anthologies as possess genuine literary merit.

In the following pages I have tried to deal with some anthologies, which, I think, are of outstanding merit. I have recently come across the manuscript of a valuable Persian anthology named *Majmū'a-i Ash'ār-i Shu'arā-i Nāmdār*,¹ which may throw a flood of light on the history of early Persian literature. It will not only introduce to us a number of poets who have been thrown into oblivion, but may also bring to light some of the hitherto unpublished compositions of some of the most celebrated Persian poets of Iran and India. This *bayāz*, compiled at Tirmiz by Muhammad bin Yaghmur, was transcribed some time during the period intervening between Sa'di (d. 691-94/1293-95) and Hāfiz (d. 791/1388-89). The manuscript is in beautiful and bold *naskh*. Unfortunately it is defective in the beginning as well as at the end, and some of its folios are also missing from the middle. However, it would be worthwhile to quote a few lines from its introduction:

Muhammad bin Yaghmur... writes, "The vicissitudes of life and the misfortunes of time brought this weak creature (the writer of these lines) to Tirmiz—the metropolis of great men... in such a wretched condition that I had neither a knot (pearlstring) in the turban of happiness nor any cash in the purse of patience.... By a happy coincidence I attained good fortune of reaching the exalted assembly of the model of sublimity

1. MS. No. 183, Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras.

and dignity . . . the cream of wise men . . . the chief of the nobles . . . the lord of magnates . . . the support of the kingdom . . . the glory of religion and faith, the sun of Islam and Muslims, the companion of kings and monarchs. For a time, I drank deep of that spring of wisdom. . . . Once he dropped a hint . . . that there could not be anything more conducive to mental recreation than poetical compositions for a study of the facts of metaphysics and survey of the subtleties of other people's works. Thereby he implied that I might apply my mind to the compilation of an anthology of choice verses, the like of which has not been collected by any other scholar nor picked up by any other savant, because it is wearisome and boring to pore over varied calligraphies and different volumes

"In compliance with his wishes I have prepared this collection by drawing upon the springs of charming verses and a variety of works of great poets. . . You would say that every *qasīda* of this anthology is a bag of sugar . . . to provide the syrup of diversion . . . to the majestic assembly of the illustrious benefactor.

"The *qasīdas* are divided into four categories. . . the quatrains are spread over eight chapters . . . and miscellaneous fragments are divided in ten parts. . . As fluency is to be observed in *ghazals*. . . these are abridged in one part. . . If all the twenty-six chapters were to be dealt with here, it would result in unnecessary redundancy."

It begins with a list of poets, from whose *diwāns* selections have been made. The names of the following poets have been mentioned in it :—Athīruddīn Akhsikati, Azraqi, Arwari, Adīb Sābir, Abul'alā, Awhadi, Asad Shahāb, Afzaluddīn, Ashrafi Samarqandi, Bahā'uddīn Marghistāni, Badruddīn Farāhi, Hamīduddīn, Hasan Ghaznavi, Khāqāni, Dehqāni, Ali Shatranji, Daqīqi, Raziuddīn Nishapūri, Rashīdi Samarqandi, Rashīd Watwāt, Jalāluddīn Rūmi, Zakī Kāshghari, Sultān 'Alā'uddīn Khwārazm Atsiz, Sanā'i, Sūzani, Sa'di, Saifuddīn Isfarangi, Sa'īd A'war, Shamsuddīn Khāla, Shamsul-Ma'ālī Qābūs, Shahīd Balkhi, Shamsuddīn Tabari, Zahīruddīn Sajzi, 'Unsuri, 'Abdul-Wāsi' Jabali, 'Imādi Ghaznavi, 'Izzuddīn Shirwāni, 'Asjudi, 'Attār, 'Abdul-Razzāq Isfahāni, 'Atīqi Tabrīzi, Ismā'il Warrāq, 'Umar Khayyām, Futūhi, Fakhruddīn Rāzi, Fakhruddīn Mubārak Shāh, Fakhruddīn Khālidī, Husām Nasafi, Qatrān Tabrīzi, Labībi, Majd Hamgar, Mahmūd Warrāq, Munjīk Tirmizi, Mujīr, Mukhtārī Ghaznavi, Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, Minūchihri Dāmghāni, Mu'izzi, Minūchihri Shast Galla, Nāsīruddīn Adīb, Nizāmi, Nāsir Khusraw, Humām, Zakī Marāghī, Sirājuddīn Sīstāni, Sharafuddīn Muhammad, Fazlullāh Shafrawah, 'Amīluddīn Loiki, Nāsīruddīn Adīb, Ziyā'uddīn

‘Abdul-Rafī’ bin Abul-Fath Hirawi, Latīfuddīn Zaki Marāghi, Abul-Futūh, Burhān-i Islām, Nasrullāh Ghaznavi, Nizāmuddīn Kātib.

The special feature of this *bayāz* (anthology) is that its compiler has mentioned the following poets whose names could not be traced in most of the *tazkiras* :—

Abu Sa‘īd Bākharzi, Ajmal Qarshi, Ahmad Manshūri, Israngāni, Atlaḥa, Amīr Saifuddīn, Awhad Tāliqāni, Burhān Samarqandi, Tājuddīn Khatīb Jājarmi, Jalāluddīn Fayūmi, Jamāluddīn Shauqi, Jamāluddīn ‘Arūzi Samarqani, Hubābi, Husāmuddīn Nabīrah, Hamīd Sīmkash, Khwāja Abduh, Hakīm Khayālī, Rashīd Kātib, Zainuddīn Qudsi, Sa‘di Rāzi, Ustād Sa‘d Kāni, Saifuddīn al-Mutayyab Samarqandi, Sa‘id Yabi, Sa‘id Bukhār Ūshi, Sa‘id Usmān, Shahgar Samarqandi, Sharafuddīn Khatali, Shahābuddīn Adīb, Sa‘id Mas‘ūd, Sadrul-Sharī‘at, ‘Alā‘uddīn Zargar, ‘Alawi Nasafi, ‘Ali Shāh, Sayyid ‘Imāduddīn, Ghawwās Gunābādi, Fakhr ‘Alami, Nizāmuddīn Darbandi, Nizāmuddīn Jundi, Wartiji.

The compiler has divided his selections form-wise into *qasīdas*, *ghazals*, quatrains and fragments. He has further sub-divided them according to their contents.

The most significant feature of the *bayāz* is that it contains innumerable poetic compositions and verses, which would otherwise have been lost to us. It contains the *qasīdas*, *ghazals*, quatrains and fragments of some of the most renowned Persian poets, which could not be traced in any of the published works. For example, it contains the following hitherto unknown moral and didactic quatrains of ‘Umar Khayyam :—

بشنو سخنی که جز سر انجام تو نیست
مرغی ست مراد دل که در دام تو نیست
گر کره توسن فلک رام تو نیست
دلتنگ مکن که این در ایام تو نیست

گر چرخ ترا خدمت پیوست کند مهذیر ازو که آخرت پست کند
مگذار جهان را که زرامست کند در گردن معشوق دگر دست کند

ای جان دل ربش بر جهان بیش منه
وی کاه ضعیف کوه بر خویش منه

کوتاه‌تر از آنست که پنداری عمر

چندین عمل* دراز در پیش منہ

ای ذات منزّه^۳ تو از عیب بری بیرون ز هزار پرده در پرده دری
در پرده هزار معصیت هست مرا ایمن شده ام ز فضیلت از پرده دری

The following quatrain is also very rare in Mss.,

ای بار عنا شخص ترا فرسوده چندین چه خوری غم جهان بی‌هوده
آسایش خود ز رنج بسیار مجوی کز رنج تو دیگری شود آسوده

Swami Govinda Tirtha in the Index of Known Quatrains, with reference to a manuscript, has given only the first line,¹ and that also reads differently in this way :

ای یار عنا شخص ترا فرسوده

It also contains the following *ghazal* of Nizāmi (536-99/1140-1203) which could not be traced in his published works :—

تاکی دل مسکینم از هجر حزین باشد
زارم ز غمان کشتی معشوق چنین باشد
که نعره زنان آیم که جامه دران باشم
از ناز همی گونی عاشق به ازین باشد
جان رفت مرا از غم تن نیز کنم قربان
باشد که همه رایت ای دوست چنین باشد
تو قدر وصال ما دانم که نمی دانی
لیکن تو طلب می کن کار تو همین باشد

* شاید "امل" درست تر باشد

1. *The Nectar of Grace*, Allahabad, 1941, p.331.

بر من دل سنگینت ای دوست نمی سوزد
 شاید من مسکین را این روز پسین باشد
 من وصل نمی جویم آورده بزهد خود
 گوید که بدین خوبی کی خلد برین باشد
 دادی تو مرا وعده گفتی که هلا فردا
 گفتم که ترا وعده بسیار چنین باشد
 بس گفت مرادر گوش من زان توام خاموش
 پنداشت که عاشق را آرام درین باشد
 برداشت نقاب از رخ گفتا چو منی داری
 گفتم چو توئی هرگز بر روی زمین باشد

There are, in this *bayāz* the following hitherto unknown riddles of Daqīqi, 'Asjudi (d. 432/1040-41) 'Unsurī and Farrukhi (d. 429/1134-35).

دقیقی :

بگوئی تا چه چیز است ای برادر بسی دیده تموز و تیر و آذر
 زباب و مادر ست اصلش و لیکن نزاید بچه او چون باب و مادر
 گهی چون مرد باشد گاه چون زن گهی دستار دارد گاه چادر
 اگر در آب و آتش جاش سازی نه آبش بشکند فی سوزد آذر
 بجز در آب و آتش هر کجا هست بهر شکلی بر آید تیز بنگر
 عسجدی :

دمنده اژدهائی چه بود آن خروشان و بی آرام و زمین در
 شکم مالان بهامون بر همی شد شده هامون بزیر او مقعر^۳
 گرفته دامن خاور بدنبال نهاده بر کران باختر سر
 بیاران بهاری گشته فربه بگرمای حزیران گشته لاغر
 فراوان جانور دیدم ز هر جنس از و زاده در و مانده مجاور

مستان (؟) مانده بر و برزنده پیلی بهرواز اندر از معبر به معبر
به پیش بحر و بر پرد و لیکن (؟) همه اندر شکم زند پر

عنصری :

از صفات حرام لفظی را باز گردان و بس مصحف کن
چون بدانی که آن مصحف چیست ضد او گیر و نقش بر کف کن
بودنی دال پیش او بنگار عرب اندر عجم مؤلف کن

فرخی :

آن مرده روان بشکم گرد این جهان
که نرم نرم و باز گهی تند و بر جهان
هستند زنده در شکمش بچگان بسی
خود زنده نی و زنده بدو یند زندگان
زنده است بچه در شکم مرده و چوزاد
بی هیچ زخم و رنج بمیرد هم آن زمان

The fragments quoted above are fine specimens of riddles and enigmas in Persian literature.

From among the selected fragments is the following request for wine, sent by Anwari (d. about 588/1192) to Shahāb Mu'ayyad :

قاصد خویش را فرستادم بتو مهتر پیامکی دادم
سه حریفند میهمان رهی که بدیدار هرسه دلشادم
گر فرستی صراحی باده یقین دان که هرسه را . . .

The latter complying with his wishes acknowledged it in these lines :

ای کریمی که از تو دلشادم شاد گشتم که کرده ای یادم
تا رسول تر خط تو آورد جان و دل بر خط تو بنهادم

شب تاریک هم بدست رسول باده روشنت فرستادم
تا تو آن هر سه را بخواهی... من بنقد این رسول را...

In the published *Kulliyāt-i Nazm-i Anwari*², both the fragments have been attributed to Anwari, under the title *Mutafarriqāt-i Anwari*. A special feature of this edition is that in it the second fragment reads as follows :—

ای بزرگی که از تو دلشادم	شاد گشتم که کرده‌ای یادم
نامه تو رسول تو آورد	غم گیتی به باد بردادم
چون خط بی خطای تو دیدم	سر خود برخط تو بنهادم
حال از لطف تحفه قلمت	گره از طبع خویش بکشادم
شب تاریک هم بدست رسول	باده روشنت فرستادم
تا تو آن دوسه را نخواهی داد	من بنقد این رسول را دادم

From among the figurative *qasidas*, the compiler has selected a *qasida* of Jamāluddin 'Arūzi Samarqandi, dedicated to Tājuddin Mutahhar bin Tāhir, which can be recited in twenty-two metres and in which the figure of speech known as *tawshih* has been very skilfully employed. Indeed, he claims that no other poet has composed a poem employing this art. He says :—

“Unless a poet possesses abundant virtuosity in the art of poetry, he cannot employ the art of *tawshih*. No other poet has composed a *qasida*, in which this artifice has been made use of more skilfully than this master of the poetic art.... Jamāluddin Samarqandi 'Arūzi... who has employed all the twenty-two metres in one composition... He has displayed his poetic skill in the art of *tawshih* by composing the following *qasida* in twenty-two metres, and has conversed the entire range of material diversity.”

He then quotes the poet himself :—

“Muhammad Jamāluddin Samarqandi says... that when God... bestowed upon me a plentiful knowledge of prosody, I thought I might have a memento thereof. To that end, I composed a *qasida* in the metre of *mujtath makhbūn muwashshah*, so that it may cover all the twenty-two metres,

fifteen, those framed by the Arabs and seven, those evolved by the Persians. Each verse was composed in one of these metres. It is an extremely rare piece of poetry, the like of which has never been written before nor will ever be. Since the exalted court of my benefactor, Tājuddīn Mutahhar bin Tāhir... has very graciously bestowed upon me innumerable favours and gifts, I decided to adorn this *qasīda* with his name (to dedicate this *qasīda* to him)". The *qasīda* begins with this line:—

اها بهار سمن پر نگار حور صور شراب عشق چشیدم بسی بعشق تودر

From among the first rate Indo-Persian poets, only Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān (d. 525/1131) has found the pride of place in this anthology. From among his hitherto unknown poems is a *qasīda* after the model of Labībī, who has been mentioned in it:—

قصیده ای که مسعود سعد سلمان ذکر او کرد - این شعر از استاد
لبیبی است رحمه الله علیهما - و این استاد لبیبی در ایام سامانیان (و) محمودی
سید الشعرا بوده، خاصه در عصر سلطان محمود نورالله مرقدہ.

سخن که نظم دهند آن درست باید و راست
طریق نظم درست اندرین زمانه کراست
سخن که من بنگارم بنظم اگر دگری
به نثر خوب گذارد چنان گذارد راست
ز حسخاکی (?) دارم زلفظ ناقص پاک
درست و راست زبایسته نه فزون و نه کاست
مرا سخن به بلندی سماست و معنیها
از و درخشان گوئی که آفتاب سماست
بصنعت و بمعانی و نازکی و خوشی
یکی قصیده من جمله مایه شعراست
وگر گواهی خواهد یکی برین دعوا
همین قصیده بدین گفت من بسنده گواست

مرا چه باید گفت این سخن که نیک افتاد
 چو آفتاب درخشان ز آسمان پیداست
 بصنعت است روان شعر من چو جان درتن
 بلی و آن دگر کس بسان باد رواست
 ایا گروهی کین شعرها همی خوانیت
 بحلق و حنجره کوئی که زیر وبم دوتااست
 مرا بسوی شما آب نیست و مرتبه نیست
 سوی شما همه جاه و بزرگی آن کس راست
 که شعر هاش چو تعویذهای کالبدی است
 درست و راست نماینده نه درست و نه راست
 بشعرهای لبیبی شما نگاه کنید
 که شعر های لبیبی چه بابت عقلاست
 همیشه رغبت اهل هنر بشعر من است
 بسوی اوست شما را همیشه میل و رواست
 بدسته های ریاحین کی التفات کند
 ستور سرزده جائی که دسته های گیاست
 مرا بگوی که یک شعر نیک بایسته
 کزو مثل زد شاید ز گفته هاش کجاست
 نه هرچه نظمی دارد ز گفته ها نیکست
 نه هرچه رنگش باشد ز جامه ها دیباست
 ز مشک و زلف در آن کار بسته معنیها
 چه خوشی و چه شگفتی و زان چه خواهد خاست
 به نظم و نثر سخن را نهایتی باید
 کزو مثل زد شاید کزین چه گفت چه خواست

برین طریق بگویدش که یک دو بیت بگوی
 برین قیاس که من گفته‌ام گرش یارا ست
 صفات مشک مگوی و ز زلف یاد مکن
 اگر توانی دانم که این قصیده ترا ست
 جز آن قصیده که از روزگار برنایی
 که کار پیر نه چون کار مردم برنا ست
 و اگر بخواسته آراسته نشد تن من
 رواست کایزد جان مرا بعلم آراست
 بدان که بی خردی را درم فزون باشد
 بفضل کی آخر برابر داناست
 بهیچ حال ابوجهل چون محمد نیست
 و گرچه هردو به نسبت ز آدم و حواست
 مرا ز دانش رنج تن است و راحت جان
 شناخته مثل است این که خار با خرماست
 مرا به بی درمی و یحکا چه طعنه زنی
 بدان قدر که بسند ست حال من بنواست
 بهیچ وقتی آزار تو نجستم من
 توئی که سوی منت مال و ماه قصد جفاست
 بطبع دشمن آنی که دانشی دارد
 شگفت نیست که ظلمت همیشه ضد ضیاست
 بشعرت ارچه عطای بزرگ داد ملک
 هنرنه از تست آن پادشا بزرگ عطاست
 بسیم خواستن و یافتن چه فخرکنی
 تفاخرآن را کورا مکارم ست و سخا ست

تو هرچه یافته ای من ندانم این دانم
که نظم و نثر تو یکسر معلل است و خطاست

Amīr Muizzi (d. about 520/1126) has praised Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān in a fragment beginning :

شریف خاطر مسعود سعد سلمان را

The latter has returned the compliments with these hitherto unknown lines:—

اگر ندیدی نظم بدیع مرجان را
که آن غذا شد مرطیع را و مرجان را
... شعر معزی وحید اهل سخن
نگه کن و به ترازو سخن بسنج آنرا
عجیب نظمش نشناخت نظم لؤلؤ را
غریب وزنش ننهاد وزن مرجان را
بماند خیره درو طبع و جان و در غم و رنج
بماند طبع غمی را و جان رنجان را
مزاج خاطر بادش قوی که خاطر او
ضعیف کرد بقوت قوی مرا جان را

From among his published *qasidas*, the following *qasida* is of special interest for its artistic beauty, because while reciting its lines our lips do not touch each other:—

ای آذر تو یافته از غالیه چادر

In the printed copy of the *Dīwān* یافته has been substituted for آذر which is not correct. It shows that the editor and the scribes did not discover the rhetoric device employed in this *qasida*.

Other Indian poets, whose compositions have been included in this *bayāz* are Sirajuddin Sistāni or Khurasāni and 'Amīduddīn Loiki.

Another important anthology is a *bayāz*³ preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi. It contains fifty illuminated folios and its size is 16.5 x 10.4 cms. Most probably, it was prepared at Hirat. The manuscript is defective in as much as a number of folios along with miniatures are missing from it. However, it still contains six miniatures.

This manuscript bears the statement :—

بخط ملا میر علی ہنجاہ دو فرد ، باتصاویر سلطان محمد ، بحضور
سلطان طہماسپ مدظلہ تقدیم شدہ است ۔

Beneath these lines, there is a seal, in which only the word محمد is legible and which may be the seal of Sultān Muhammad.

This anthology remained preserved in the royal library of Shāh Tahmāsp Safavi (930-984/1524-76). Its first folio contains the seal of Hāmida Bānū Begum, the queen of Humayūn, with the following hemistich inscribed in it

مہراو آئینہ چہرہ دولت باشد (Her seal is the mirror of the face of Kingdom). One can safely infer that it was presented by Shāh Tahmāsp to Emperor Humayūn (1530-56) who gave it to his wife.

The *bayāz* begins with the following ghazal :

از حد گذشت قصہ درد نہان / ما ترسم کہ نالہ فاش کند رازجان ما

The compiler has included a number of *ghazals* (lyrics) of Hāfiz, Shāfi, Shuhūd, 'Ali Shafi, Nishāt, Khayāl, Riyāzi, Qāsimi, Saifi, Jāmi and Hīlālī.

The third important discovery in this field is a beautiful anthology *Jug-i Dawāwū*⁴ (Miscellany of Diwans), preserved by the Central Public Library, Patiala, Punjab.

It consists of the following works of the great Persian poets, which have been enumerated in the form of an index on the first page of the manuscript in the handwriting of Abdul-Rahīm Khān-i Khānān (964-1036/1556-1627).

3. MS. No. 48.6/11

4. MS. No. 2436

List of contents of this collection :

Asrār Nāmeḥ of 'Attār on the margin;

Ghazals of Mawlānā Rūmi form the main text.

Dīwān-i Khwājū on the margin;

Dīwān of Salmān constitutes the main text.

The *ghazals* of Shaikh 'Irāqī on the margin;

The *ghazals* of Shaikh Awhadi form the main text.

The fragments of Ibn-i Yamīn on the margin;

Khusraw Shīrīn of Shaikh Nizāmi forms the main text.

It was transcribed in the Nasta'līq script and illuminated by Humām al-Munshi al-Murshidi in 849 A.H./1445-6 A.D. The colophon reads as follows.

تمت الكتاب بعون الملك الوهاب على يد
اضعف العباد الله الغنى همام المنشى المرشدى
في سنة تسع واربعين وثمانمائة الهجرية النبوية

The significance of this *bayāz* lies in the fact that it bears the seals of such nobles as Abdul-Rahim Khān-i Khānān and 'Imād Khan. The legible seals read :—

خاک راه اهل حق عبدالرحیم
عماد (اعتماد) خان بنده شاه جهان

Besides, its importance is further enhanced by the fact that it bears the following dates and contains specimens of the handwritings of the nobles who had seen and, perhaps, read this *bayāz* :—

• جمید الثانی سنہ ۲۹۰۰ عرض . . .

On Fifth Jamādul-thāni, 29, it has been seen.

۱۴ شهر صفر سنہ ۱۰۶۹ عرض دیدہ شد

On 14th Safar, 1069, it has been seen

۲۶ رجب سنه ۱۰۶۹ عرض دیده شد

On 26th Rajab, 1069, it has been seen.

The most significant aspect of the *jung* is that it formed part of the private collection of Abdul-Rahīm Khān-i Khānān and other nobles, and was brought from Goa. The following passages are in the handwriting of those through whose hands it had passed. The reading of the text may not be accurate, but is important from historical and cultural point of view:—

”الله اکبر

در تاریخ سنه نهصد و نود و سه که در احمد آباد بود بعضی از خدمتگاران را بجهت ابتیاع اسباب به گووه فرستاده بود - از گووه ... بطریق پیش کش این کتاب را فرستاده بود و استدعائی که نموده بود موافق اراده اش بانجام رسید - حرره عبدالرحیم بن محمد بیرم عفی عنه“

”الله اکبر

دروقتی که جهانگیر بادشاه این غریب را بخدمت دکن همراه شاهزاده پرویز فرستاد، متن این کلیات نواب خانخانان به برخوردار عبدالرحمن المقلب بخان عالم فرستاد“

”مجموعه مشتمل برهشت نسخه مطابق تفصیل صدر بخط

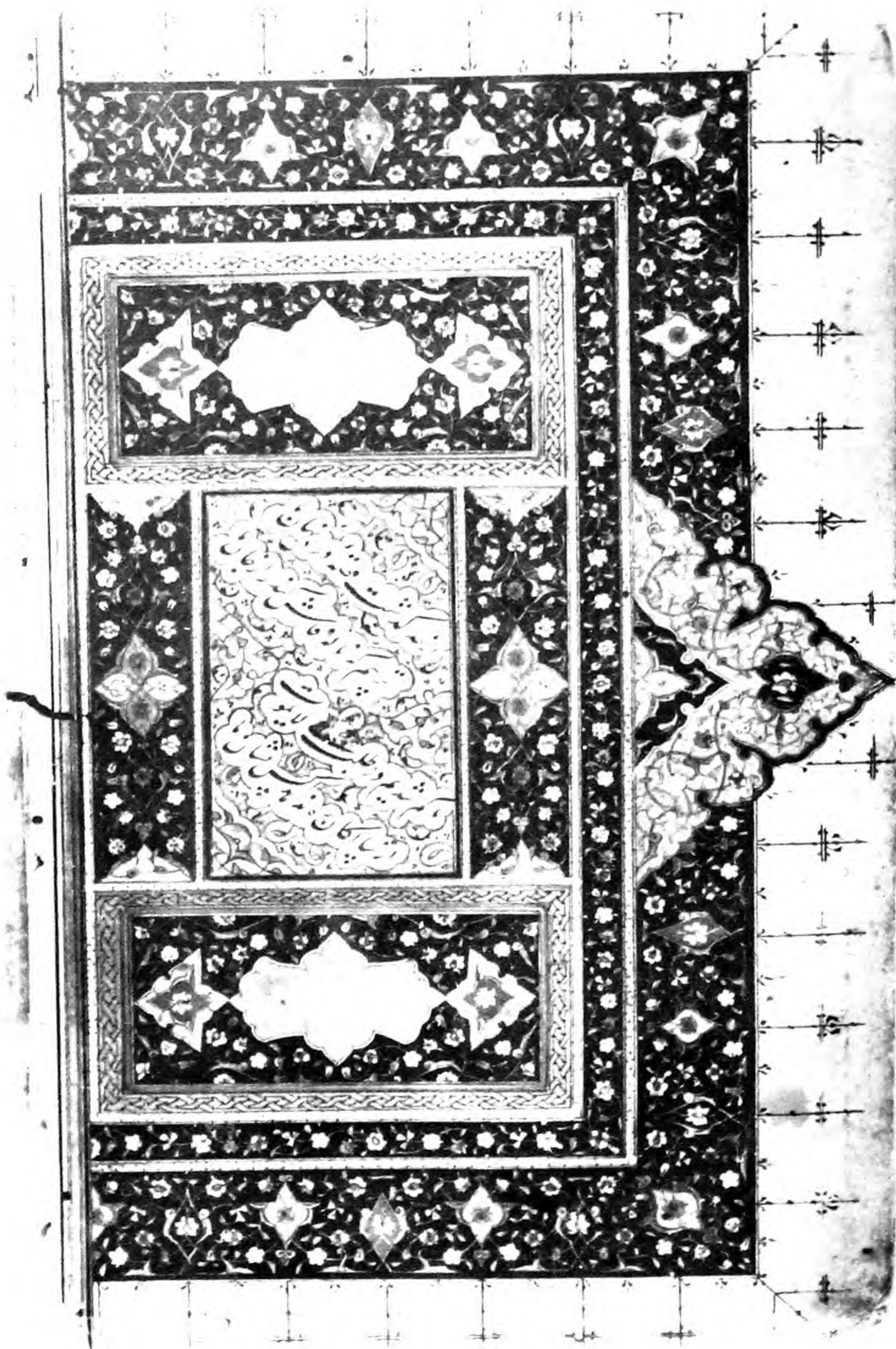
خانخانان متن خطائی و غیره، حاشیه سفید داغدار آب رسیده با اکثر جا کرم خورده و خط سوخته است سرلوح و جدول طلائی رنگ اند - این متن و حاشیه بخط همام منشی است - جلد سختان سرخ کج و ترنج گلنار، مهری زده فرسوده مستعمل - هی اموال خانعالم، بتاریخ ۷ صفر سنه ۲۴ از وجوه عین تحویل منصور شد - حال شب شنبه ... محمد جانی مشرف“

Plates

1. First folio (A) of the *bayāz* MS. No. 48.6/11, National Museum, New Delhi.
2. First folio (B) of the *bayāz* MS. No. 48.6/11, National Museum, New Delhi.
3. One of the pages of the *bayāz* MS. No. 48.6/11, National Museum, New Delhi.
4. One of the miniatures of the *bayāz* MS. No. 48.6/11, National Museum, New Delhi.
5. The last page of the *bayāz*, mentioning the names of the calligraphist, painter and Shāh Tahmāsp, to whom it was presented. MS. No. 48.6/11
6. First page of *Jung-i Dawāwīn* containing seals and handwriting of Abdul-Rahīm Khān-i Khānān and other nobles. MS. No. 2436, Central Public Library, Patiala.
7. Last folio (A) of the *Jung*, mentioning the names of the scribe and year of transcription. MS. No. 2436, Central Public Library, Patiala.
8. First folio (B) of the *Jung* MS. No. 2436, Central Public Library, Patiala.
9. One of the pages of the *Jung*. MS. No. 2436. Central Public Library, Patiala.



PLATE — I



تو را به پیش از این که از پای و مرئی تو

ایستادگان علم و ادب
کریمه زینبیه

مکتبہ اسلامیہ
کراچی

لیبر و ح میں از حضرت مولانا محمد علی

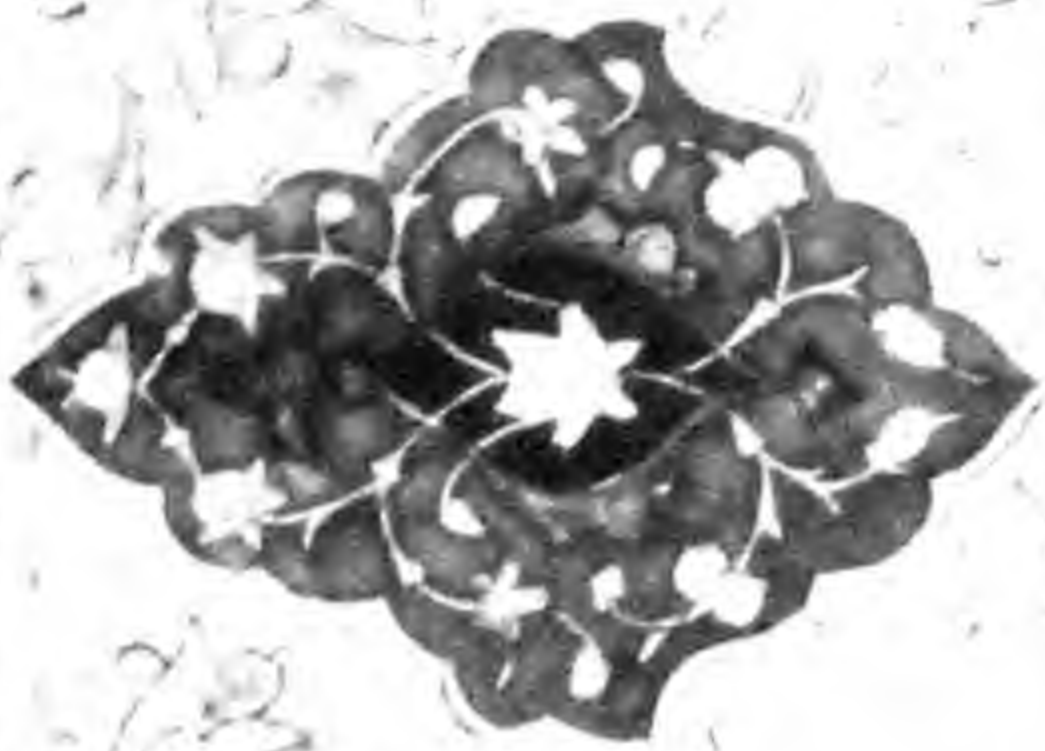
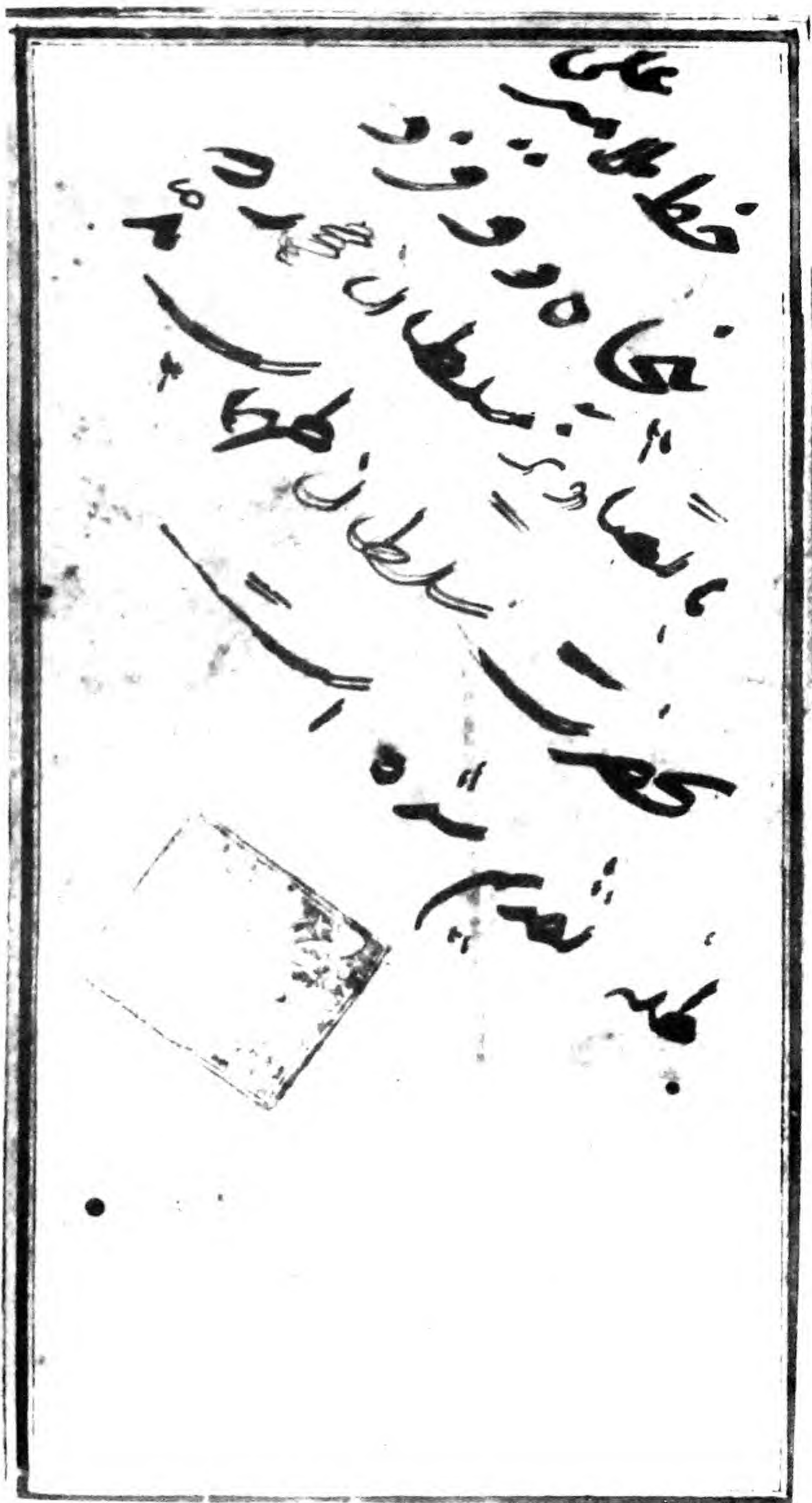




PLATE — 4



ما می هذ به الحوی

ار سرار نامه
شیخ علی حاکم
در بیان
ار یوان فواجو
در حاشیه
دیوان سلمان
در متن

غریبات شیخ
در متن
غریبات شیخ
در متن
خبر و و شیرین
شیخ نظامی
در متن



الله اکبر

در وقت که جهانگیر بایست
دکتر همراه راده بود و فرستاد
لوار حالان به روه و دارالعلوم
الله اکبر

توجه نمائید که این کتاب
در وقت که جهانگیر بایست
دکتر همراه راده بود و فرستاد
لوار حالان به روه و دارالعلوم

۱۰۹۹
۱۳۲۶
مهر حکم



در شب بیخ منت بر کشیده
 تو خفته بوالفضول خج کن زود
 غبار فتنه از عالم فرو روفت
 که جذبات کان طبل حلت
 منور القدرین لذات زنگانی
 که در آینه خفا که وانی
 تبار این تخت کیو از اکرندی
 نظری دعی سیکر انان
 ز نور او بدید نور پیشین
 ابو بکر محمد اکند شاد
 بدو تبار کار شریزان
 برانجه امید دار کاران باد
 بچن دار سچاات ختم کردم
 با نظر او پس با تبه مرجمه
 واطب مرادک من خیر تره

ز غم شب به ان شمشیر نمانی
 در میگفتم سخن محن کج
 شکست سخن بخت بر ملک برد
 نیکو کوس کفستی تا دوماست
 شهادت دفت اندر غم بر اندش
 که او را پوی کور کرم شد رای
 که دین تاج شد جوش رضا
 بود نصرت این کار فریش
 پناه خنده وان اعظم الهی
 به از پیش منت اثر سکر خند
 ستاره پای خنده شد
 سعادت باد شکر کار
 ورق کاغذ پندم در نور دم
 علی المصنف و المستوفی
 بن بعد ذلک غفر الله لک

ز کافر کردی بر مرد فانی
 کجا بهر غم در خستم کجا ماند
 تبادش کرد تحت ابرام اخرا
 که راه دل کشته در کوچ کایک
 که بادش آن چنان از این چاش
 لب داران کور به بر ای
 سپهر این تاج از ابراهیم باد
 ز نور او بدید نور پیش
 فریدون واداد علم مبارک
 بولا پیش نکرده من کربند
 تک بو به کیم محمد شش
 صفت بادش از عمر و جواد

تم الکتاب بعون الملك الوهاب
 علی بن اصف عباد الله الغنی
 حمام المشی المشرقی
 فی سق واربین
 وکان فی الحجة
 النبویة



كانت عرسا في ليلة القدر

ای طایران قدس را عشت فروز
افلاک از تو بر کنون صفا
سزی و خاک می بر سینی بی فروخته
تو قیغ ترس آمد شوق طغیانی
حسن نام کل را قصبه او قدرم و ما
بر اهل معنی شد سخن اجمالا تفصیلا
امست بیخانه آمانه بر و ما
گمشا و نشان خود بر بست سیاه
صدیقت در امان و صد اقل
از و سایه سر و شش و شش
هر روز زنده جانان افروز دل چنان
آن جان جهان در دوان سال
شس المون تبری در برج حیل
خز بشینه آن راه سحر مار
حون جوح زندان سپین
کور ستم و ستان در ستان پیش
مارا کرش خواه کا گذر خود

در حلقه سودای تور و جانی ترا
مانست نغمه ای فانی
با نغمه نوحه ای که بی تابان کشید
قال وصال پس کان عشق آید
او خند و لیل آورد و ما که در این شب
بر فصل صورتش سر نهید با احوال

در واجب الاقرین کی صورت و صفات
که در از غت بشکافد و آن غم برون
اغاز عالم غنجد بایان عالم از دل
از دست لعلین اقبال و شایان
دست چاکت این سخن که علم من
که شکر پاکت بنده بر سر آید

که بر جو و خشت نوازین مکنه مارا
بر جلد سلطان صد ناز
والنفسه شمان اید ناز و در

کے پتہ دلش خارا کہ یہ نزد مریا را
بار آہ وہ زانہ ان عس در آہ
بی ایہ وہ ہے ایہ و انکس کی محی ہا یہ

یومف تباینه خوبی و بد
نیز رومی و واسا و دیگر

تو لقمه شیرین شود خدایت قد او
چون بی سبک استوان خردن حکم بر

دوید ایی بن
یک قطره خون
عشق
چون کل
جانرا از و خالی
کرد و تو
بنمود
بر کرد
صد نرد و خل
کاول
آن خون
وز آمد
تا بر بحر
ناشر
بی دور
مردم
نزد و

Handwritten text at the top of the page, likely a title or introductory note, written in a cursive script.

جای خفته و بی گناه
 علف نعل و نعلی از خاک
 چراغ از قبل تر پیاخته کن
 پیر من است در توحید و معبود
 پادشاه از کرم کار ز کاه ی
 زسم آفای این لعنت اعظم
 نشسته بر سج کاغذ کاغذ بود
 که در بازو کایت و دست
 که در گردن انجمن
 غلام از ده کیه از خفت
 زمین ناکش و نه بر دود
 تخم در دوی داد و ستد
 کله و کیش را کله
 به جا و سپیدم و به رشام
 در اوردم بشت بارکی بی
 که در دم زمرغان هر چون
 اعیان و دله شسته خندم
 خوش شاه یی و اوم و دود
 زمین و پیش باط شاه کرم
 که شمع افروخت از پروانه خوش
 زردی داد کو هر را بنوا
 بجای کیت بباد و جای شید
 کله و قمر و از جاده سیر

جود و پیش بشت آمد بدید
 مسی و شده زیر کعبه
 چراغی از کعبه بر نما
 عوچی برین بطوق و تاج

عزیز اب و میوز و آتش
 که طایبان مرده شرب و شند
 چراغی از کعبه بر نما
 عوچی برین بطوق و تاج

جود و پیش بشت آمد بدید
 مسی و شده زیر کعبه
 چراغی از کعبه بر نما
 عوچی برین بطوق و تاج

در خاکستری

سکای کوز سیکردم از بخت
 به رفیق خدایان ملک و نام
 بشیر نعمت زینت از بخت
 بدید و کوز رحمت برداشت
 که کوی اندام در دست
 ترا حوا که چند روز کی چند
 شال شاه را بر سپر نهادم
 بهرم خدایه شسته چشتم از جای
 ز کوران ملک روده در دودین
 بهر سال کران ره یی بریم
 نسیم و از سر کوه و رودی
 جو به خود بخور که کاه کرم
 ش از صراف جو به خط خوش
 برون آمد و کعبه حاجب خاص
 نشسته ساه چون تانده و شید
 کله و کعبه از زجب کینه

طریق القتل و اصدیم آمد
 زمر که رحمت و اقبابت
 پر افرا زهرش طوق کی
 ستورم چون سطرش در بخت
 زدم بر خوشن پستانه تی
 بسی زینک آمد و کوب شاه
 عت عت عت همراه
 کلیدم آسن آمد آسن
 که قند رقص در کوه و پیا
 بتارک راه میفرم جو پر کار
 بکشته دعای تازه کردم
 زمین در بر من شد عت خام
 که چشمه بر در جوان که کرد
 پاران زاهد روان را سینه
 عطار در امیرج ماه بردند
 در ازیر سنگ باس رسته کرد

جود و پیش بشت آمد بدید
 مسی و شده زیر کعبه
 چراغی از کعبه بر نما
 عوچی برین بطوق و تاج

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Dabistan-i-Mazahib and Diwan-i-Mubad

Prof. S. H. Askari

Dabistān-i-Mazāhib, a remarkable 17th century work on comparative religion has been known to Persian scholars for a long time, and its copies, both printed and in manuscript, are fairly common; but the question of its authorship still remains a subject of controversy. As far back as 1787 it was introduced to the European Orientalists by Sir William Jones, the illustrious founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; and soon after, Mr. Francis Gladwin edited and translated a portion of the book. The whole of it was translated and published in 3 volumes as a result of the collation of Messrs Shea and Troye, with a scholarly introduction by the latter. All of them were of the view that the anonymous writer of the book was a Kashmiri poet, Muhsin Fāni, who was a teacher of the more famous, Tāhir Ghani Kashmiri, and a spiritual disciple of Shaikh Muhibullāh, an eminent Sufi of Allahābad. The flimsy ground on which they took their stand was a curt and cryptic expression, “ **محسن فانی گوید** ” which is said to have been found in two old manuscripts of *Dabistān*, one of Lakhnow and the other of Bombay. The expression occurred just after the usual exordium in praise of God, the Prophet, the four caliphs and the Imāms, and it introduced a quatrain,

عالم چو کتابی است پراز دانش و داد
صحاف قضا و جلد او بدو و معاد
شیرازه شریعت و مذاهب اوراق
است همه شاگرد و پیمبر استاد

Besides these four verse lines of Muhsin Fāni there is nowhere throughout the pages of the book even a *Fard*, a *Rubā'i*, a *Qit'a* or *Masnavi*, which are so numerous and interspersed in the *Dabistān*, that can be ascribed to the Kashmiri poet. The manuscript and printed copies in Oriental Public Library, Patna, are devoid of the said expression and even the translated volume does not appear to have had it.

The view of Messrs Jones and Gladwin was challenged by Mr. William Erskine whose fairly cogent arguments were based on certain particulars culled from the work itself and from direct and indirect indications given unconsciously by the writer about his personal predilections, private beliefs and views. The probabilities were examined, the prevailing theory was questioned, but no alternative suggestion was offered. A strong and effective point which goes against Muhsin Fāni theory had been put forward, while noticing Mūbad Sarosh, son of Āzar Kaiwān, the celebrated chief of the Zoroastrian priesthood who had settled down and died in Patna in 1027 A.H., about three years before the birth of the author of *Dabistān* in the same place. The anonymous author writes that one Muhammad Muhsin, a man of learning, told him that he had heard that Mūbad Sarosh gave 360 verses as proofs on the existence of God, but when wanted to commit that to writing, he was unable to do so. This establishes the fact that Muhammad Muhsin, whosoever he may have been, was a different person from the author of *Dabistān*. Should we presume upon the simultaneous existence of two poets bearing that name? But none of the biographies of Persian poets refers to two Muhsin Fānis. There is no reason to presume that the author of the aforesaid *Rubā'i* in the opening page of the work, was the writer of the whole work. As no account of the author is given in the beginning of the work, it is possible that the scribes of Lukhnow and Bombay copies knowing that the quatrain concerned was that of Muhsin Fāni added the three words including "gūyad". But this should not be stretched to mean that they took him to be the author of the work as a whole.

A young Kashmiri scholar who edited and published the *Dīwān* of Muhsin Fāni in Iran claims to have found a clue to the authorship of *Dabistān* in two quatrains of Fāni of which the one begins with the verse

راهی به میان بود میان من و شاه
ره قطع نمودیم و شدیم بر درگاه

and the other runs thus,

از بسکه زهر سلسله دلگیر شدم سر سلسله حلقه زنجیر شدم
برها کردم سلسله پیر و مرید هم ملا شاه و هم میان میر شدم

There are many references in the *Dabistān*, and also in the *Dīwān* of Fāni, to both Mulla Shāh Badakhshāni and his *Pīr*, Miyān Mīr, the Qādiri

saint of Lahore. But this does not warrant the assumption about the one being the same as the other in point of authorship. It establishes at best the contemporaneity, but not identity of the two. Moreover, there is no indication in the *Dīwān* of Fāni and elsewhere that he travelled in the direction of Eastern India beyond Allahabad to which there is only a casual reference in the *Dabistān*, and that he had anything to do with Patna, the birth place of the anonymous author. He does not appear from his writing, to have been a sceptic or as having had any affinity or affiliation with the religion of the Zoroastrians. He was an orthodox adherent of Ahmad-i Mursal and he had great regard for Mulla Shāh and Miyyān Mīr Qādiri, noticed reverently by Dārā Shikoh and Jahān Āra in their books.

There is yet another and a very convincing evidence about the author of *Dabistān* being a different person from Muhsin Fāni. A rare old *Bayāz* in Oriental Public Library, Patna, contains a letter addressed to Mīrak Shaikh, a *Mansabdār* of the Mughals, in which he was quite frank about his prejudices and aversion against the Shi'ites. But the author of *Dabistān* has nowhere used a strong language against any one of the creeds or sects, whether Muslims or others, and has taken pains to appear very reverent and respectful, both in spirit and form, regarding the spiritual leaders and religious divines. He did not write as a theologian or as a controversialist, but as a mere reporter, stating without bias or prejudice, what he saw or received from the best exponents of different religions, creeds or sects. He wrote,

نامه نگار را ازین گزارش جز منصب ترجمانی نیست -

Another significant fact well worth attention is that none of the biographers of Persian poets who have noticed Muhsin Fāni, says that he was the author of *Dabistān*. On the other hand, Sirājud-Dīn 'Alī Khān Ārzu clearly ascribes its authorship in *Majma'ul-Nafā'is* to Mulla Mūbad. Again, Rahm 'Alī Khān Īmān, writes in his well known work, *Muntakhab-ul-Latā'if*, that one of the long lists of the authorities he consulted was *Dabistān-i Mazāhib* of which Mulla Mūbad Shāh was the author. Lastly Shāh Nawāz Khān writes the same thing more than once in his work, *Ma'āsirul-Umrā*. He has referred to *Dabistān-i Mūbadi* and has gone even farther and suggested the name of the anonymous writer of *Dabistān*:

برخی مسائل این مذهب ذوالفقار اردستانی موبد تخلص در دبستان خود آورده -

Shāh Nawāz Khān wrote his book in Hyderabad at a time which was not very distant from that when the author of *Dabistān* arrived and stayed there; and he may have got his information from those who were in the know of things. Is it not intriguing that no contemporary authority exists lifting the veil from over the name, personality, beliefs and creeds of the man who for some reason chose to remain incognito, and none of the numerous people, Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, etc. whom he met and conversed with, has left behind anything about him?

Evidences are, however, not wanting to support the view that the author of *Dabistān* could neither be a Muslim or a Hindu nor a poet of Kashmir, and that he was a fire-worshipping Pārsi, a Persian, born at Patna in or before 1029 A.H. in which year three of the chief disciples of Āzar Kaiwān had died. It was in this year that one of Āzar's disciples, Mūbad Hūshyār (d. at Agra 1050 A.H.) presented him to a Hindu Yogi, Bālaknāth, and five years later he was carried in arms, as an infant, to another Hindu ascetic, Chaturvapah, at Agra. He was taken charge of at Agra by a fifth disciple of Āzar Kaiwān whose son, Mūbad Sarosh, has been mentioned by him as the author of many works. The learned scholar and the enlightened translator of *Dasātir* and the author of three volumed *George Nāma* and many old books, Mullā Fīrūz of Bombay, had a manuscript copy of *Dabistān* which contained marginal notes saying that Shet Dāwar Hūryār conversed with Amīr Zulfiqār Husaini, poetically named Mūbad Shāh, who was the author of *Dabistān*. We need not take the variation of Ardistāni, Sāsāni, Amīr Husaini, seriously, for what is important is Zulfiqār. A valuable manuscript of *Dabistān* which once belonged to the extensive library of Raja Pyāre Lāl Ulfati of Patna and had been owned by a Persian immigrant, Abul-Qāsim Sāsāni, contained many scribblings on the fly-leaf, and copious marginal notes commenting on the observations of the writer. He wrote that though the writer had taken care to remain in the shade, he could not conceal the fact that he was a fire-worshipper, a Pārsi of the Ābādiyān Section of Āzar Hūshangiyān, and that he completed the work in a suburb of Patna. The manuscript is now lost but the photographic representation of some of its pages are still available in Oriental Public Library, Patna.

There is another thing worth noting in his statement. When the author comes to deal with Hinduism he makes a significant observation:

چون روزگار ناپایدار این نامه نگار را از پارسیان جدا افکند وهم انجمن

سر امتان صنم و بت طلبان و پرستنده وثن ساخت

(When inconsistent fortune separated the reporter of these accounts from the Parsis and made him a companion of idolators, and those for whom figures and images are objects of adoration.. —) Did he mean the Pārsis of Persia, or what is more probable, the Pārsi surroundings in India, notably Patna, which had become their rendezvous on account of the assemblage of the followers of Āzar Kaiwān? We get a meaningful hint when he expresses his regrettable association with the worshippers of idols and images (وثن و صنم). But who knew better than him that Hinduism meant not only gross idolatry, but also sublime thoughts of religion, ethics, philosophy and metaphysics?

Thus in the first place there are strong reasons to take the Muhsin Fāni theory to be now an actually exploded affair; and secondly, indications and evidences, external and internal, are not wanting to identify the anonymous author of *Dabistān* with Mullā Mūbad or Mūbad Shāh of the biographers. Fortunately, the Oriental Public Library, Patna has an old and rare, in fact the only copy known to exist anywhere, of *Dīwān-i Mūbad*, written in a *Shikasta* sort of *Nasta'liq*, on a thick paper, and comprising 110 folios with roughly 16 lines to a page. The Manuscript is divided into two unequal parts; the first part in folios 1-88 which is the *Dīwān* proper, contains *Ghazals*, *Qasīdas* or short and long odes, and stanzas terminating in double rhymes or *Radīf* and *Qāfiya*. There are about 125 *Rubā'īs* or quatrains and numerous *Fards* or single odd verses. The second or the shorter part folios 89-110 consists of *Mathnawis* or moral stories and mystic tales and distiches and stanzas whose first line does not end like others in rhyming. Somewhat different from the conventional *Dīwāns* or collection of poems, in style and arrangement, it has matters mystic, philosophical, didactic and ethical, socio-religious together with references and allusions to persons and places, many of whom are historical and fairly well known. It is interesting more for such things than for the excellence of its compositions. Lack of order and of a criteria of selection and arrangement is by no means its only weak side. Some words are illegible, a few have been crossed out, and in some places entire lines or versified pieces are repeated. It appears to have been copied from another manuscript by the scribe who gives his name in the colophon as Mūbad Nawroz Walad-i Shahryār, and also the month, Urdībihisht (i.e. April) and Shahr-i Tīr Yazdgard (i.e. June), but not the year. The totality of the verses comes to 2323 + 641. The inscription at the top on title page is the Pārsi formula instead of the usual Muslim one

بنام ایزد بخشاینده بخشایشگر مهربان

There is no preface or introduction, and the book abruptly starts with a short metrical composition of 4 lines followed by a *Fard* in a different metre

ای بر تر از احاطه ذات و صفات ما در ما چگونه ای شده پنهان ز ذات ما
هر هفت کرده ذات تو در شش جهت بسر ای بی جهت چگونه ای اندر جهات ما
ما را به باز گشت ز آغاز کار نیست چون نیستیم چیست فنا و ثبات ما
در اصل فصل نیست بوصلش مرا چه کار از اصل ما به فصل نیاید برات ما

This philosophic exordium or priase of the incomprehensible all-pervasive Almighty does not end in a *Maqta'*, containing the poetic pen-name which comes in the following *fard*.

فرعونی و موسائی بی نار جیل دیدم تا غوطه زدم موبد دریای محبت را

Like the *Dabistān* the *Dīwān* is replete with all about the Zoroastrianism, and the last *Qasida*-like *Mathnawi* consists entirely of references to the Zoroastrian divinities, Prophet, angels, sun, fire etc.

Significantly enough there are many parallel versified passages both in the *Dabistān* and the *Dīwān*. Some of these are as follows :—

ای نام تو سر دفتر اطفال دبستان

یاد تو ببالغ نظران شمع شبستان

بی نام تو ناگشته زبان کام عجم را

هر چند بدانند کلام عربستان

بایاد تو دل در بدن سالک و عارف

شاهنشاه آرام سریر طربستان

در یافته دریافت که دریافت جز این نیست

موبد حق ادیب تو و گیتی ادبستان

هر راه که رفتم بسر کوی تو پیوست

مطلوب وجود تو و هستی طلبستان (ص ۷۶)

زاهد و سامان پرستان راضی انداز ما که ما
 خود شریک هیچ یک در دنیا و عقبی نه ایم
 دشمنی خیزد ز شرکت ، ما بقصد دوستی
 آخرت را باختیم و در پی دنیا نه ایم (ص ۶۶)

گر رهرو مسلک مغانی بر جامه میند دل روانی
 مسکن شودت بدن عدم را هرچند محقق دوانی (ص ۸۳)

(The reference is to Jalāluddīn Dawānī, the author of *Akhlāq-i Jalālī*).

میان یار خود دیدیم و دادیم بره جویان نشان بی نشان را
 وقت نماز مرتبه^۱ آدمیت است در یاب وقت را که مباد اشود قضا

در حقیقت جسم بهر نفس غیر از گور نیست
 عاقبت این گور در گورست ، بینا کور نیست

^۱ The first five verses, along with the following *fard* and couplets are common to both the *Dabistān* and *Dīwān-i Mūbad*. These as some other verses are preceded in *Dabistān* by the two words, 'Mūbad says'; for the writer would have the reader take it that he was quoting from a different person, and as such it represents an attempt to equivocate. That the lines concerned may have been first composed for the *Dabistān* which was earlier in time, may be inferred from what may be taken as the last and the latest events mentioned in the two. While the *Dabistān*, in one of the last chapters, refers to Dāra Shikoh as being still in the hey-day of his power and glory, and he is described as

خداوند مکان و مکین صاحب زمان و زمین

the following lines in the *Dīwān* tell us that the younger son of Shāhjahān had already triumphed over and killed the elder one :

دو فرزند شاهجهان از شکیب گرفتند از ملک هستی نصیب
 مهین بود دارا به گردون نشست کهین بد، زمین یافت اورنگ زیب

There are some other important lines:

شاه زمان که کار جهان استوار کرد
 شنقار روح نسر سپهرش شکار کرد
 روی زمین سپرد بر اولاد نامدار
 گردون برای بودن خویش اختیار کرد

آنکه او شاه جهان و پادشاه هند بود
 چون به عهد و قول، شاهنشاه ندیدش استوار
 زنده شد زندان نشین و بند بند آورد از
 دشمن خود دید پور خویشتن را از تبار

آن شاه زمان که عالمی قایل شد
 ظل الله است و سوی حق مایل شد
 جائز نبود زوال در ذات اله
 از چیست که ظل ایزدی زایل شد

The *Dīwān* refers to many contemporary personages such as Abul-Fazl, Faizi, 'Abdul-Nabi, 'Abdul-'Ali, 'Abdullāh Qutub Shāh, 'Ali Mardān Khān Dawrān, Sayyid Muzaffar Hushyār Khān, Nawwāb Hakīmūl-Mulk, Mīr Md. Muqīm, Sa'id Khān Samarqandī, and also Isfahānī, Abdul Qādir, Sayyid Ja'far, Mīr Shamsuddīn Nūr Baksh, Miyān Mīr, Mullā Shāh, Sadruddin Muhammad, etc., and *Dabistān* also makes mention of many of these. Sikakol, Srinagar, Sarhind, Kabul, Mashhad, Balapur, Sūrat, Burhānpur Nandpur etc., have found mention in both. The books of philosophy and science, logic, medicine, astronomy, law and jurisprudence, grammar and syntax, *Hadīth* and *Fiqh*, which were included in the *Madrasa* syllabus of the time have been mentioned in the prose of the *Dabistān* and the poetry of the *Dīwān*.

The author, presumably one and the same of both, leaves us guessing as to who and what he was. Described by a scholar as "half mystic, half nationalist, he appears to have decided for some reason of

his own not to disclose outwardly and expressly his identity, personal beliefs and faith. He posed to be a monothiest, a unitarian, a mystic, Sufi, very liberal in his views, permitting free thoughts specially in religious matters, very tolerant of differing opinions." In the *Dabistān* the words Zulfiqār and Husaini which, according to some, formed parts of the name of the poetical Mūbad have been studiously avoided; but they occur frequently, though not clearly as descriptive name of a person in the *Dīwān*. In 11 lines the word Zulfiqār has come in, but more as a quality than a person, though they have got the significant suffixes of 'Alawi, Haidari, Murtazā'i, etc. From the *Dabistān* we learn that the author paid a visit to Mashhad in Iran in 1053. Though he writes,

به مشهد گر کنی مؤبد اقامت بینی معجز قدسی کرامت

and despite the sanctity attached to the mausoleum of the 8th Imām of the Shi'ites and the divinity apparently ascribed to 'Alī in such lines

توئی ای علی نامتاش خدا ترا از خدا کی جدا دیده ایم

yet the 'Alī-allāhian idea described in the *Dabistān* did not commend itself to him, for he became sober and said

هر گاه علی را شناسند امام گویند خدای این جهانست تمام

Some of his verses are such as could not but emanate from a Muslim

قرآن که کلام ایزد ارض و سماست

آن معجز بر گزیده پیغمبر ماست

مقصود و غرض هر چه خدا راست دراو

گفتار خدا شناس و قول عرفاست

دبستان جهان و بحکم خداست خلیفه نبی خالق شاگرد اوست

There are many verses of mystical and moral import and purport, but neither *Dabistān* nor the *Dīwān* contain systematic exposition of Sufistic beliefs and doctrines. The author of both acknowledges one Divine cause and essence of all things, and as such is a mystic Sufi

believing in the Unity of Being — "I existed when none was in existence —
And now that nothing will remain, I will exist :

آندم که کسی نبود ، بودم
این دم که کسی نماند ، هستم

پیش دانا کثرت موجود عین وحدت ست
غیر واحد هستی بشمار در اعداد نیست

در کشتی شریعت دانسته نا خدائیم
در خلوت حقیقت پیوسته با خدائیم

There are, however, verses which show a tendency towards free thoughts bordering on even atheism.

چند پس در کوچه های مذهب و ملت دویم
شاهراه کشور تحقیق جز الحاد نیست

Actually, however, as in *Dabistān*, so in the *Dīwān*, we find the writer taking pains to show that he was a latitudinarian, and had no hide-bound views and convictions. He wrote,

ز بغض مذهب و ملت گذشتم تعصب از سرشت خود بهشتم
به هر کیشی به هر مذهب رسیدم
ز دانشمند هر کیشی شنیدم

He writes that different people looked upon him differently, not taking him as one of them in matters of religious opinions and persuasions,

نزد تورانیان ز ایرانم نزد ایرانیان نه ایشانم
سنیان شیعهام گمان دارند شیعیان محض نامسلمانم

نی مسلمانم ، نه کافر زین سبب روز جزا
حشر من جز با خدا بادیگری نبود روا

The Turanis take me to be an Irani; The Iranis deny that I am one of them; the Sunnis suspect that I am a Shi'ite —The Shi'ite merely say that I am not even a Muslim.

I am neither a Muslim nor a true believer — and that is the reason why on the Day of Judgement it would not be proper for me to be put before any other than God.

It is quite in keeping with what one finds in the *Dabistān* that Mūbad writes in the *Dīwān*,

این کعبه و بتخانه در جلوه یک ذات ست
 اینجا حجر الاسود ، آنجای جگن نات ست
 این کعبه و بتخانه در چشم حقیقت بین
 هم دستگه عزى هم پایگه لات ست
 در هند شده گنگا در مکه شد زمزم
 در کعبه شده حاجی در بتکده هامات ست

He refers to the traditional sectarian divisions in Islam and laments the clash and conflicts raging among their adherents:

هست هفتادوسه حجره در سرای دین ولی
 خانه جنگیها ست ، جنگ مذهب و ملت بلاست

That is the reason why he keeps himself off from such warring people :

من ازین جمله کیش بیرونم عارف مطلق خدا دانم

He failed to find a true Muslim and a real *Kāfir*, despite his earnest search for such men for years,

مسلمان سالها جستم ندیدم گرد بیت الله
 بجستم کافری آنهم نبود اندر جگن ناتش

At times he becomes humorous

از مسلمانان و طاعت میگریزم زاهدان
تا نگردد از وجودم تنگ جنت بر شما
آتش دوزخ شود صرف من پر بد خلف
شد گناههم رستگاری بخش خیل اشقیا

مسلمانان اگر یارم نباشند پژوهم نصرت از کیش نصاری
مسیحا مردگان را زنده کردی کنم آئین روح الله احیا
شوم هادی یهودی را بدانش کنم آئین موسی را چو موسا
کنم ترک از یهودی گر نباشد مرا از جان و دل خواهان وجویا

He becomes much more communicative about the Hindus of different sections, though the major part of matters of faith and belief has been apportioned, as we shall find, to the Zoroastrian fire-worshippers :

مرا گر هندوان خواهند در دم به گایتری فرو جویم مواسا
جنیوی بر میان جان بیندم به منتر چون خود انترگشت گویا
ز روی هر پرانی تازه سازم مقالات مهیش و بشن و برهما
بگویم گر ز من هرمد برهمن چه باشد شیو و شکت و کشن و رادها
برسم گیانیان سازم مبین کدامین بندها این ست مکتا
چه راز است اینکه مرلی دهر سرودست ز بهر ارج ارجن خود به گیتا

He goes on in the same strains, mentioning many things such as *Avatārs* or incarnations like Buddha, Parshurām, Rāmchandra, the son of Dasrath, his consort Sītā, Shyām Sundar, Gorakhnāth, Machchandra, Niranjān (Supreme Being), Kaljug, Melechchas, Sukhmani, etc.

In an ode in the second part of the book beginning with the verse]

بر درگاه کشن چون رسیدم صد هندو دران سواد دادم

We get many interesting and discriptive lines such as

سرهای سران به پا فتاده مسکینان پا بران نهاده
 از چین جبین نقش ارژنگ خاک متورا ست لوح اثرنگ
 از سجده هندوان دو فرسنگ شد خاک سیاه زعفران رنگ
 کشن مت بزیر این نه ایوان خورشید روان و جسم کیوان
 والای وجود زاهد و رند کالای سواد اعظم هند
 زان روح رسیدنت حرام است چون عقل بدست رام رام ست
 موبد نرم از مقام آرام در حضرت کشن رام شو رام

As compared with references to Christianity, Judaism, Islam, and Hinduism, Mūbad in his *Dīwān* is unequally eloquent, and becomes profuse in his account of Zoroastrianism, its leaders, beliefs and miracles. In a long ode of about 95 lines as many as 51 verses have been devoted to Zardusht and the many miraculous deeds associated with him and believed by his followers. Making a diversion he writes,

به سوی گبر یکرانم گر اکنون ز من نوشین شود نوش انوشا
 بلفظ ژند آذر زنده سازم منم اوستادوش زردشت آسا
 اوستا چیست ، چه بود ژند پا ژند چه داند بست و یک نسک معنی
 کدام آن هشت لفظ آمد که از این برون آید چنین ژند مزکی
 چه باشد خواهش دادار هرمز چه ذات است اهرمن مردود دارا
 چسان معدوم خواهد شد عناصر چسان گرد آید این پاشنده اجزا

The poet makes boastful claims,

دوده ساسان آذر را بدانش محترم موبدان را افسر و دستور را سردفترم
 من چراغ دوده زردشت زردشتم زها آشکارا معجز زردشت بنمایم ترا
 به زردشت نبی یزدان چه بنمود بگویم با تو چون پرسی نشانها

More important than those and many other stray verses are those in the *Dīwān* which have their counterparts in the allusions of the prose contents of the *Dabistān*. We may consider only a few here. Zartusht, spelt variously as Zardusht, Zardasht or Zoroaster was the founder of the sect of the Magi and the prophet and legislator of the religion and philosophy of the fire-worshippers. They are dualists adopting light and darkness, good and evil, as two eternal principles, opposed to each other, and are also unitarians believing in the one only principle of original creator :

آذر زردشت ما نور اله هر چه میگوئی ز من بشنو بگوش
 خدای جهان را کس انباز نیست بدان نور انجام و آغاز نیست

It is Zoroaster, who appeared in the reign of Gushtāsp, king of Persia, who has been treated both in the *Dabistān* and the *Dīwān* of Mūbad. Let us have a few of the many things which are common to both. Zoroaster was proverbially known as the first and the only child who laughed at his birth. The *Dabistān* says that Zoroaster laughed aloud when he came to the abode of existence (at the moment of his birth). The *Dīwān* refers to this strange affair in two lines :

چسان خندید در هنگام زادن زرادشت نبی آذر افزا
 نخندد هیچ طفلی وقت زادن که باشد گریه خوی شیب آیا

The *Dabistān* says that Dughduya, the mother of Zardusht, in her fifth month of pregnancy, saw a dream which terrified her; but she was assured that it was good and prophetic about the child in the womb. The *Dīwān* refers to it cryptically.

کنم تعبیر خواب خوب دغدو به بیداری بصد شرح موفا

The *Dabistān* contains much about circumstances of the child's dangers and his miraculous escapes. The magicians — worshippers of Ahriman — tried various means to destroy Zardusht while he was yet a child, but he escaped from all such attempts. When the head magician lifted his sword to cut off the head of the child his hands dried up that very instant :

چسان شد خشک دست شاه جادو که در سر داشت او آهنگ ایذا

While the future prophet was 7 years old, he fell ill at which the magicians felt delighted. Their attempt, however, to administer a poisonous medicine miscarried, and so was also the case with the attempts to burn the child or to have him trampled down to death. 'The devouring flame became roses in the midst of which slumbered the pearl of Zardasht',

چسان گلزار شد آتش به زر دشت چسان داروی بد را گرد اخفا

We find the *Dabistān* mentioning that at the age of thirty Zardusht or Zoroaster directed his face towards Iran with several men and women. He came to a large expanse of water but he had neither a boat nor any other means of passage. He prayed to God and crossed over along with others without the sole of their feet being moistened. The same thing happened when they had to face the deep broad and extensive water of Daitya.

چو آمد سوی ایران شاد و خرم بگویم چون گذشت از آب دریا
چسان بگذشت ز آب دایتی باز سه قسمش در گذشتن بود دریا

Four divisions of water are mentioned in *Dabistān* instead of three in the *Dīwān* signifying the promulgation of *Dīn-i-bih* (the True or Good Religion) by Hushidar, Hushidarmāh and Soshyān, all descendants of Zardusht who was the first of the series.

When the Prophet had gained the opposite shore he was visited by the angel Bahman who transported him to the eternal empyrean. He was asked as to what he desired most and what secrets he sought for

بگویم بهمن آمد پیش زردشت چه خواهش برد نزد حق تعالی
بدو یزدان چه فرمود و چه جست او کدامی رازها کرد او تمنا

God also conferred with the Prophet, took him into His confidence and disclosed Himself to him

چه گفت از نور و ظلمت پاک یزدان به زردشت نبی بهر دلاسا

He was provided with the scriptures, *Zard Avesta*, and he was instructed to contact King Gushtasp :

چسان استاو زندش داد زنده فرستادش سوی گشتاسپ جمعا

There are references in *Dabistān* to the imprisonment of Zoroaster and his deliverance after several trials and also to the opportunity provided to King Gushtāsp to see the paradise

چسان از بند شد آزاد زردشت چسان اسپ شهنشہ یافت زو پا
چسان گشتاسب را بنمود جنت سپارم بر تو این روشن معما

We are told by the author of *Dabistān* and also Mūbad that Zoroaster received instructions from several, specially the five or six celestial spirits or archangels called Amshāsfandān, who were the presiding deities of the various solar months.

Urdībihisht is the name of the second Persian month and also of the angel who presided on the mountains. Shahrīr or Shahrivar, the sixth of the solar month, is also a presiding angel and so are the Isfandārmad, the twelfth month, Khurdād, the third month, and Murdād, the fifth month. In the *Dīwān* we get the following references

چه گفتندش دگر امشاسفندان نخستین بهمن فرشیده الها
چه گفت اردی بهشت آنگاه اورا و زان پس شهره شهرپور ز اشیا
سپندار آمد و خر داد آنگه چنین مرداد، هر یک راز گفتا

Mūbad does not give the contents of the instructions which the *Dabistān* has furnished us with. According to *Dabistān*, the Prophet presented to Pashūtan (brother and confidential friend of Isfandyār) and also Jāmāsp (the brother and minister of Gushtāsp) some of the hallowed milk ensuring eternal life and next gave Jāmāsp some of the hallowed perfumes, and a grain of the hallowed pomegranate was given to Isfandyār who instantly became *rū'in-tan* (brazen-bodied).

Quoting from *Shāristān* of Farzāna Bahrām (son of Farhād of the Yazdānian sect) of which a copy is available in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, the writer of *Dabistān* says that when Zardusht entered into the assembly of the king Gushtāsp he held in his hand a blazing fire which caused him no injury; and that even when transferred to King's hand and to those of others there was no trace of burning on any. Mūbad put it somewhat differently in his *Dīwān*,

آذر زردشت میگویند دست شه نسوخت

چون به نزد شاه شد پا ژند از امر خدا

Shāristān or *Chahār Chaman* of Farzāna Bahrām supports *Dabistān*. In *Dabistān* there is an account of the palsied black charger of king Gushtāsp, which was cured by the Prophet when his conditions including that of adopting his faith had been accepted by the whole of the royal family. The *Dabistān* also says that Zardusht caused the spirit of Gushtāsp to ascend to heaven, that from him Jāmāsp learnt the secrets or the mysteries of the world creations and that through his prayers Isfandyār became brazen-bodied and impenetrable to arms and weapons. This is how Mūbad puts the thing :

گشت از تائید او گشتاسب از مینو روان

یافت ازو اسپ سیاه شاه عادل رقبه را

رازدان هستی کونین زو جاماسب شد

گشت روئین تن ازو اسفندیار از یک دعا

According to *Dabistān* Zardusht cured and converted Lohrāsp (the son of Arvand, and father of Gushtāsp and Zarīr brother to King Gushtāsp). Mūbad also writes :

یافت زو آندم زریر از رنج بیماری نجات

از اشارات دعا لهراسپ را داد او شفا

Zardusht explained to the king his prophetic mission, and gave his precepts to him and for all mankind. But Mūbad says :

چگونه پیش شاه آمد ملائک نصیحت کرد هر یک پادشا را

Lohrāsp and Zarīr had fallen into such a violent sort of malady that the physicians had despaired of their lives and had desisted from all attendance on them.

ز لهراسپ و زریر هر آنچه گشته که میگفتند ایشان را اطبا
نخواهد زیستن ز آن هر دو یکتن شفا زردشت بخشید از دعاها

The prayer of Zardusht for immortality was not granted by God :

ز بيمرگی چه برسيد ست زردشت چه پاسخ يافت از دادار پاكا

There are a few things in the *Dīwān* which are not found in the *Dabistān*. On the other hand, the *Dīwān* is devoid of some parallel allusions, references and similar passages. For example, we do not find in it what had been dealt with at some length in the *Dabistān* about Zardusht tasting something like honey in heaven; seeing a vision during his stay there, and Ormuz showing him a tree of four or seven branches, each of which had some significations worth explanation. But the abstracts of doctrines, dogmatic and ritualistic and ethical teachings given in the *Dīwān* do not on the whole differ. In the *Dīwān* we get the following :

برين مينو چه باشد ؟ بر تو گويم فرودين مينوى امروز فردا
چو قايل گشت يزدانيش گويند بتوحيد وجود حق تعالى
ولى يزدانى تحقيق دانند كه جز حق نيست موجودى ز اشيا
مطهر روح شد ز اخلاق فرخ طهارت جسم را ز آب مصفا

Some of the concluding lines of this very long ode form very interesting reading. The Parsi poet swears by God, His holy book, the first and original Prophet, his wisdom, self, ego or star-studded heaven etc. and he makes mention of many rules, usages and ritualistic ceremonies and practices. He writes

نماز ايزدى

بظاهر روزه شد امساك خوردن بباطن در گذشتن از بديهها
به معنى نفس را آزاد كن زود ز قيد شهوت و بند غضبها
درستى بايدت در عهد و سوگند به عهد بندگى اول نكوپا
ز كم خوارى و بيدارى و رهيز ز انوارى كه بيند سالك اينجا
ديت ده خشم و شهوت در ره عقل بكش // نفس شيطان كيش خود را
بس از تا ديب اى مرد خردمند بكش نفس بهيمى طبع خود را

و زان پس نفس ناطق را ادب کن که حقانی شود از بیم حالا
بباید دزد را کشتن سوم بار بکش اول تو طبع دزد خود را
که اخلاق بد از شیطان پذیرد گریزد از ره عقل مصفا

Barsam or *Barsum* means a number of metallic wires or rods of long space used as substitute of the sacred bundle of twigs of *Homa* plant and formally held in hands while performing the ceremonies of prayer. The 23 branches of the tree represented the sacred book of *Zand Avesta* which at one time consisted of 21 *Nasks* or volumes. Nauroz is the famous festival of the first 6 days of the Iranian year commemorating several great events of Persia and the world. *Yashtan*, a Zand word, signifies prayer and devotion. The *Dabistān* refers to *yashtan*, i.e. *Darun*, signifying recitation and breathing out of prayers in slow, murmuring tone as the fireworshippers do at meal time. *Bih-dīn* or good or true religion was also a name given to the faith.

به یزدان و دساتیر و مهاباد بعقل و نفس و چرخ اختر آرا
برسم برسم و نو روز و یشتن به بهدین و تنافور و اوستا
یشورش (?) کرم وهوم و جاپ منتر بر ربی و قراء قرا

Making a *Guriz* (retreat or deviation) Mubad writes that he was not possessed of wealth and he knew that its eventual result was anguish and suffering. The Darvish's *rag* was enough to cover his body during what was left of the natural span of life time given to him, and the roots of the grass would suffice for his food. The king becomes a slave if he gives way to anger and lust, and, therefore, he would tear off and expel the feelings of wrath and sensuality. He lived in the angelic bower of wisdom and discernment, and he had no need of a royal treasure or Dāra's mansion. He was satisfied with God's gifted knowledge and learnings, and he was a conspicuous figure both in this world and the next.

نه میل مال دارم کز مالش ... (?) است آگاهم ز مولا
بود عمر از طبیعی دلخ تن بس بنای بس غذا بیخ گیاه
به دست خشم و شهوت بنده سلطان مراخشمست و شهوت بند برها
مرا گنج سروشی هست دانشم کنج گاو و دار دارا
رضا مندم باین بخشش که حق کرد بدانش غالب دنیا و عقبی

He concludes the *Qasīda* with a famous utterance of 'Ali, the first Imām of the Shi'ites :

چسان راضی نباشم چون علی گفت رضینا قسمت الجبار فینا

There can be little doubt that the author of *Dabistān* and *Dīwān* was one and the same person. He may have been an Iranian of Sayyid descent, claiming to represent geneologically, the 3rd Imam of the Shi'ites and his Iranian consort, Shahr Bānū, who is said to have been a daughter of Yazdgird, the last of the Sasānian Kings of Persia. The stigma of conversion attaching to the author or the habitual principle of equivocation of the Pārsis who take such a work of enigmatic and meaningless contents as *Dasātir* to be a sacred book and one of their best sources, may explain he let his name, personality, beliefs and views to remain shrowded in obscurity. The *Dīwān* requires a detailed and critical study. Apart from the comparative study of the *Dabistān* and *Dīwān* the latter has many things which should attract a scholar of history and literature. Verses like the following have got their importance.

همه آدمی زاده گندم پڑوه	چو آدم ز پیمان ایزد ستوه
ز بیوقوفی پارسا مرد و زن	همه کرده آهنگ خلع بدن
ز بسیاری گرس شب زنده دار	ز مردن همه پیشتر مرده وار
مسلمان و هندو موحد و شان	بیکجای از جوع خوردند نان
ز قحط از دوئی جسته هردو کران	مسلمان و هندو بهم خورده نان
شده سفره اکنون مصلی طراز	چو نان خطائست بهر نما ز
شد از دانه سبجه آشوفته	مسبح زده دست بر کوفته
بماهی کجا روزه بد استوار	شده فارس شهر اشتر سوار

This and many other *Mathnawīs* and mystic tales with their allegorical and ethical significations should attract special attention.

Persian Literature in Eighteenth Century Bengal

Prof. 'Atā Karīm Burke

The province of Bengal did not lag behind in so far as the study of Persian language and literature in India is concerned. Since the establishment of the Muslim rule in Bengal in the early 13th century the study of Persian language and literature was introduced here and soon after, it this province was turned into a most fertile centre of Persian language, literature and culture. As Persian is closely related to Sanskrit, the climate of Bengal was in no way antithetical to the spread of Persian studies in Bengal. The Bengali language of the day which was then in the form of a *prakrit* dialect, also did not hesitate to accept the greater impact of Persian on it. Lakhnoti, the golden city, which we call Sunar Gaon, was actually a golden centre of Persian studies where learned men from all parts of India and abroad assembled and took active part in the disbursement of learning. The importance of this golden seat of learning was such that students and seekers of knowledge from all parts of Bengal and outside Bengal rushed to it to acquire knowledge and quench their thirst for learning and specially for specialisation in Persian. One instance in this connection may be cited here. The greatest saint of Bihar, Makhdūmul-Mulk Hazrat Sharafuddīn Bihari, visited Sonar Gaon as a student and sat at the feet of the great teacher Maulānā Sharafuddīn Abū Tuwāmah of Bukhara to get himself educated. He stayed there for more than a decade and specialised in Persian and Islamic learning.

Muslim rulers of Bengal, such as Sultan Shamsuddīn Ilyās Shāh (1342-1357), Sultan Sikandar Shāh (1357-1389) Sultan Ghiyāthuddīn A'zam Shāh (1389-1409), Sultan Jalāluddīn Muhammad Shāh (1409-1430), Sultan Ruknuddīn Bārbak Shāh (1459-1474), Sultan Shamsuddīn Yūsuf Shāh (1474-1481), Sayyid 'Alā'uddīn Husain Shāh (1493-1519), Nasiruddīn Abul Muzaffar Nusrat Shāh (1519-1532) and others, were great patrons of learning. They extended their liberal patronage and extensive support to Islamic and Persian learning. They also did not hesitate to make their liberal contributions to the cause of Bengali language and literature. Under them many Persian and Sanskrit works, including the *Rāmāyana*,

the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhagavat Gītā* were translated into Bengali. Great emphasis was laid on the study of Persian and Bengali and both the languages were provided with greater opportunity and ample facilities for their development. It is interesting to note that it was a period of translation in which Bengali was enriched through translations from Persian and Sanskrit. Later on, when Bengal was annexed to the Mughal empire, under Akbar the Great, it was declared to be a great centre of Persian literature and culture. This was a period of great collaboration, co-operation and joint efforts in which both the Hindus and the Muslims took side by side keen interest in learning and developing Persian all over Bengal.

After the fall of the Mughals, however, the study of Persian continued to flourish as usual and maintained its importance and utility for more than a century. Murshidabad and Hooghly were considered to be the important centres of Persian studies. The curriculum of Persian education consisted of the study of Persian language and literature, Islamic theology, yūnāni system of medical science, astrology, etc. The education was generally maintained at mosques, *imāmbārahs* and *maktabs*. Education in well-to-do families was given by private tutors. Muslim rulers of the 18th century, like Murshid Quli Khān (1727-1739), Sarfarāz Khān (1739-1740), 'Alīwardi Khān (1740-1756), Nawwāb Sirājud-Daula (1756-1758), and eminent Persian scholars like Hāji Muhammad Muhsin (1730-1812) Bharat Chandra Ray (1712-1760), Jaynārdin Ghoshal (1751-1821), Munshi Tarini Charan Mitra (1772-1838), Jaygopāl Tarkalankar (1772-1846), Rāja Rāmmohan Roy (1774-1833), Rāja Krishna Deb Bahādur (1781-1823) and others extended their whole-hearted support to the study of Persian and rendered valuable service to maintain the traditional standard of Persian literature in Bengal.

An attempt is made here to give a brief account of Persian literature produced in the 18th century in Bengal.

(1) Yūsuf 'Alī Khān, son of Gulām 'Alī Khān was a noted scholar of Persian and was attached to the court of Nawwāb Alīwardi Khān. He wrote a history of the Nawwāb entitled '*Ahwāl-i Alīwardi Khān* or *Tārīkh-i Mahābat Jarḡi* in 1177/1763. This work is a good specimen of Indianised Persian and contains a description of historical, social, political and cultural accounts of his reign. A few years back, the book was critically edited and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

(2) Ghulām Husain Tabātabā'i, son of Hidāyat Alī Khān Bahādur Asad Jang, was born at Delhi in 1727-28 and migrated to Murshidabad in 1732-33. He was an eminent scholar of Persian and well-versed in the

art of historiography. As he was well acquainted with the historical events of his time, he wrote an important history entitled *Siyarul-Muta'akhkhirin* in 1782. It contains a good account of Indian affairs from 1707 to 1780, including the records of historical, political, social and cultural activities in Bengal since 1738 to 1780. In certain respects, he derived materials from Yūsuf 'Alī Khān's *Tārīkh-i Mahābat Jangi* which was written earlier. The *Siyarul Muta'akhkhirin* is a good specimen of Indo-Persian historical literature produced in the 18th century. It has been published by Nawal Kishore at Lucknow, and this edition is available in the libraries. It was translated into English at Calcutta in 1789 by Hāji Mustafā, a French convert to Islam.

(3) Karam 'Ali was born at Murshidabad in 1736. He was brought up under the patronage of 'Alīwardi Khān who appointed him as his *faujdār* at Ghorha Ghāt where he continued in his post till the death of 'Alīwardi Khān in 1756. He was a noted scholar of Persian and wrote a detailed history of Bengal entitled *Muzaffar-Nāma* in 1772. It covers a detailed account of the affairs in Bengal since 1722 to 1772. After the death of 'Alīwardi Khān in 1756, Karam 'Ali escaped to Patna where he entered the service of Muhammad Razā Khān Muzaffar Jang, who later on was deposed by the English. Karam 'Ali dedicated his work to Muzaffar Jang, after whose name the book was called *Muzaffar-Nāma*. Its manuscript copies are available at libraries in India and abroad. Sir Jadunath Sarkar translated its important portions into English and published in the *Bengal, Past and Present* (see 1946-47, 1948, 1949).

(4) Munshi Salīmullāh of Bengal wrote a history of Bengal under the title of *Tārīkh-i Bangāla*, during the governorship of Henry Vansittat, 1760-1764. This work was translated in an abridged form into English by Francis Gladwin under the title *A Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal* and published at Calcutta in 1788, but the original text itself is unpublished as yet. About twenty years back, the Iran Society of Calcutta entrusted the editing work of the *Tārīkh-i-Bangāla* to the present writer. A great portion of the book was edited, but due to some unavoidable circumstances the work was left incomplete. Its several manuscript copies are available at different libraries of India and abroad. The *Tārīkh-i Bangāla* is an important work in the sense that it contains a narrative account of the transactions in Bengal, beginning from the governorship of Prince 'Azīmush-Shān in 1607 down to the accession of Sirājūd-Daula as governor of Bengal in 1756.

Apart from its historical and literary value the book is also of great importance on account of its detailed descriptions of social, cultural,

geographical, agricultural, commercial, industrial, judicial, religious and economic conditions of Bengal and its adjacent provinces.

Munshi Salīmullāh, the author of the book, was a great scholar of Persian and well-versed in the subject. His style is simple and fluent but sometimes ornate and bombastic. As his knowledge of Arabic seems to be poor, he has failed in his endeavour to make his style fine-sounding and precise by using ponderous and unfamiliar Arabic words, and the book has thus become a little tedious. As the history has been written in Bengal, the local influence is quite evident from its language, diction and style. A large number of words and phrases of Indian origin and commonly spoken in Bengal have been used in this book. The words and phrases of Indian origin, Indianised Persian and Persianised Hindi which have been used in the book are enough to show the author's love for and tendency of compiling the book in Indianised Persian which, for those Persian scholars, whose knowledge of Indian languages is nought, will be difficult to understand without some explanatory notes on Indian, Indianised Persian and Persianised Hindi words commonly used in the book.

From the general survey of the *Tārīkh-i Bangāla* and from the facts laid down by the present writer in a research paper published a few years back in the *Indo-Iranica*, Calcutta, it is quite evident and easy to understand that the *Tārīkh-i Bangāla* is of great importance on account of its being an original source of the history of Bengal written in Bengal itself, and, if published, it may be an asset to Bengal and the Persian historical literature produced there.

(5) Ghulām Husain Salīm of Mālda who is also called Zaidpuri, was a scholar of no mean order. He was a man of good education and well-versed in Persian. From his writings it appears that he was remarkably liberal and catholic in his views. He was a *munshi* attached to Mr. George Udni, at whose request he wrote a history of Bengal entitled *Riyāzus-Salātīn* between 1200 and 1202 A.H/1786-88 A.D., twenty-two years after the compilation of the *Tārīkh-i Bangāla* by Munshi Salīmullah. The *Riyāzus-Salātīn* has been edited by Maulvi 'Abdul Haq 'Ābid of the Calcutta Madrasah and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1890.

The *Riyāzus-Salātīn* is divided into ten divisions and sub-divisions—four *Chamans*, four *Rauzas* and two *Khiyābāns*—containing four hundred pages, out of which about one hundred and fifty pages (pp.223-374) have been devoted to the accounts of the governorship of Ibrāhīm Khān,

Prince 'Azīmush-Shān, Ja'far Khān (Murshid Quli Khān), Shujā'uddīn Khān, Sarfarāz Khān, 'Alīwardi Khān and Sirājud-Daula respectively. From the language, style and materials used in the compilation of the *Riyāzus-Salātīn*, it appears that the *Tārīkh-i Bangāla* (written by Munshi Salīmullah) must have been one of the original sources on which the *Riyāzus-Salātīn* is based. In the compilation of the work dealing with the administration of different governors, Ghulām Husain Salīm has every now and then copied words, phrases and even sentences from the *Tārīkh-i Bangāla* and thus he has made efforts to mould the language and style of the *Riyāzus-Salātīn* into a form much simple, lucid, vivid and precise.

A comparative study of passages from *Tārīkh-i Bangāla* and *Riyāzus-Salātīn* will clearly show that Ghulām Husain Salīm, while compiling his book kept the *Tārīkh-i Bangāla* before him and largely borrowed from it, not only his materials but also his phraseology. For further details in this regard my research paper on the *Tārīkh-i Bangāla* published a few years back in the *Indo-Iranica*, Calcutta, may be consulted. An English translation of the *Riyāzus-Salātīn* prepared by Maulvi 'Abdus-Salām was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1904.

(6) Shāh Muhammad Wafā of 'Azimabad was a good scholar of Persian. He was in close contact with 'Alīwardi Khān, as a devoted panegyrist and admirer. He compiled a history of Bengal entitled *Waqā'i-i Fath-i Bangāla or Waqā'i-i Mahābat-Jang* in 1161/1748. In it he has given an account of the affairs in Bengal from a little earlier than the accession of 'Alīwardi Khān to the throne of Bengal down to the times after his accession, and dedicated the work to him. It is a descriptive history without a critical note given in it. Its importance lies in the fact that it contains some important dates of the events, and some original material about the Afghans. The work is unpublished and its manuscript copy is preserved in the Oriental Public Library at Patna.

(7) Rāja Rāmmohan Roy (1774-1833) was a great savant, reformer and reputed scholar of Arabic and Persian. He was well-versed in Quranic sciences, Islamic theology, Islamic mysticism, Islamic philosophy and other branches of Islamic learning. He was also a noted scholar of Sanskrit, Bengali and English with fair knowledge of Greek, Hebrew and French. In short, he was a versatile genius of his age and made efforts for bringing reform in many fields of Indian life and society. Apart from his contributions to Bengali and Sanskrit, he wrote a valuable treatise in Persian on the unity of God under the title *Tuhfatul-Muwahhidīn* in 1790, adding an introduction to it in Arabic. It was published several times at Murshidabad

and Calcutta. Rājā Rāmmohan Roy did not believe in idolatry, and with this treatise he expressed his mind and feelings against idol-worship. The language, diction and style of the treatise are meritorious and upto the mark; and the work, as a whole, is considered to be a masterpiece of Indo-Persian literature. He also published a newspaper entitled *Mir'ātul-Akhhār*, in 1822-23, which was the first newspaper in Persian published in India. The circulation of this paper was not limited to India only, rather it was dispatched to Kabul, Tehran, Samarkand and Bukhara. The publication of a Persian newspaper in Bengal indicates the popularity of the language and the people's interest in it in the 18th century Bengal. I have already published a paper in Persian on him in the Rājā Rāmmohan Roy Number of the *Indo-Iranica*, Calcutta.

Besides the above-mentioned works many books and treatises in Persian like (1) *Ibrat-i Arbāb-i Basar* by a friend of Sarfrāz Khan in 1757, (2) *Tahawwur-Nāma* by an anonymous writer in 1773, and (3) *Tārīkh-i Nusrat-Jangi* by 'Alī Husain Qazwini in 1785-86, were written during the 18th century in Bengal. After the first quarter of the 20th century, the study of Persian was badly neglected, with the result that a large number of Persian manuscripts were either lost or are lying in public and private libraries in oblivious condition. It would require the services of a team of diligent scholars to sift the rich material in order to shed more light on the role of Bengal in the development of Persian language and literature.

Persian as the Well-Head of Research in the History of India from 1030 to 1857 A.D.

Prof. A. Mahdi Husain

تاریخ آئینہ ماضی ست و درس حال
By means of the well-known maxim (History is the mirror of the past and lesson of the present) the Persian savants have taught us that in order to understand the present we must go back to the past. For this reason and on this account we must give the Past the position of the Living Present. That is, the Past is not dead and is not done with. In other words, the story of Past and Present must be welded and both must combine in the heart and imagination of the historian so as to make an organic whole. Then alone will dawn the sense of History.

The Persian view of History having converged as shown above we are enabled, on digging up Indo-Muslim chronicles and archives, to see how Persian with its auxiliaries—Arabic and latterly Urdu has formed the well-head of research material or of source material for research in the history and historiography of India for over eight hundred years (1030-1857 A.D.).

It must be remembered that the Persian language has had the oldest relations with India. It goes without saying that cultural relations between Persia and India had begun sometime in pre-Islamic era; and Persian language in India has had through the ages a marvellous grip and growth. In fact it has remained for centuries rivalling occasionally its glories in Persia itself. Tracing the seed of Persian language and culture in the soil of India, Edward Browne says,

“It seems pretty certain that the Indians and Persians were once united in a common Indo-Iranian race, located somewhere in the Panjab.”¹

The Persians long before Islam had close relations with India. Persian kings until the end of the Sasanian dynasty had the western Panjab, Sind and Baluchistan under their rule. In the Achaemenian period (B.C. 521) King Darius had sent his officer Scylax to discover the sea-route to India.

The discovery finally led to the conquest of Sind and Panjab, and their annexation to the Persian empire. The relations thus established between the Persians and Indians evoked a natural regard for each other's culture, language and mode of living.

At a later date thousands of Persian families living in Khurasan are said to have been expelled from their country. They found a home near Lahore, Multan and Delhi. Hence the growth of Persian in Hindustan. Further light on the subject is thrown by Amīr Khusrau who is considered a link between the peoples of the modern States of Central Asia, Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan and India. Says he in the *Nuh Sipihr* :

“It is a well-known fact that the language spoken by the conquerors who have established themselves when it is disseminated amongst the people, great and small, has become the common language of the country.”²

A confirmation of the above point is found, furthermore, in the cultural history of the pre-Khusrau period of Indian history--the period extending from 1030 to 1272 A.D. which saw the birth and development of Persian poetry in northern India. It should be recalled that the Panjab had been annexed to the empire of Ghazni under Sultan Mahmūd; Lahore became ipsofacto the chief political as well as literary centre. And round about it arose a colony of high-class people speaking Persian. The cultural traditions of this colony were inherited by Amīr Khusrau, whose Persian ghazals bespeaking a glorious past of the Persian language, are still sung and memorized not only in the regions of Hindustan but also beyond the boundaries of India, in Russian Turkistan, Iran and Afghanistan. A survey of the pre-Khusrau period on cultural basis made recently has revealed the fact that in those days primary schools had sprung up in almost every important street of Lahore and Multan; and the inhabitants, irrespective of race and religion, were taking an interest in the study of Persian. As a result, the Hindu nobility of the Panjab who were the first recipients of honours from the Ghaznavi kings and their successors, were holding important positions in the civil and military ranks of the State. They not only understood the Persian language but also cultivated a poetic and literary taste. This was largely due to the continuous influx of cultured Persian families into the towns of the Panjab, so that their multiplicity in the Provinces made Lahore, the capital city, the cradle of the Persian language under the successors of Sultan Mahmūd. The Ghaznavi rule lasted for about two centuries beginning from the coronation of Sutan Mahmūd in 998 until 1188 A.D. when Mu'izzūddīn Muhammad

Ghori wrested Lahore from the last Ghaznavi king Khusrau son of Bahrām Shah. For a long time before the succession of Sultan Mahmūd, there had been a flow of Persian scholars and poets moving from Iran and other Central Asian countries to India. The result was that India produced Persian scholars and poets who vied with their Iranian colleagues. Among such Persian poets born in India the first was Abul-Faraj Rūnī, Rūn, a village near Lahore being his birthplace. Second, third, fourth and fifth in serial order were the following—Mas‘ūd Sa‘d Salmān of Lahore, Tājuddīn Rīza of Delhi, Shihābuddīn of Badāun and ‘Amīduddīn of Sanām (Sirhind).

The first two were born in Lahore after their parents had migrated there from Khurasan. Both rose to fame in the post-Mahmūd period and flourished under the later Ghaznavids—Sultans Mas‘ūd and Ibrāhīm. Although an Indian by birth, Mas‘ūd as a poet was highly appreciated in Iran and his poetry interspersed with Hindi words was then considered a unique accomplishment. It was a feat unparalleled in the Ghaznavi period. Tājuddīn Rīza whom Briggs has erroneously called Zabbori was called Rīza because of his short stature and thin body. He accompanied Sultan Shamsuddīn Iltutmish in his Gwalior expedition in 1230 A.D. He witnessed the capture of the Fort which fell after a siege of one year and composed the following chronogramme—

هر قلعه که سلطان سلاطین بگرفت
از عون خدا و نصرت دین بگرفت
آن قلعه گلیور و آن حصن حصین
در ستمائه سنه ثلاثین بگرفت

These verses were carved on a stone at the gateway of the Fort and were seen by Briggs in the 19th century. It is said that the composer Tājuddīn Rīza was extremely sweet-tongued and became known accordingly as ‘Nightingale of India.’⁴ He wrote *qasīdas* in praise of Sultan Shamsuddīn Iltutmish and his son and successor Ruknuddīn Fīroz.

Shihābuddīn of Badāun is mentioned by Mulla ‘Abdul-Qādir Badāuni who says in his *Murtakhabut-Tawārīkh*—‘I have thought it incumbent on me to include a few odes from that eminent author as benediction and blessing in this composition of mine to leave a memorial for his friends and to establish my own connection with that master and to display upon the dais of evidence the excellences of that doughty knight of the arena of eloquence, and more especially to fulfil the demands of fellow-citizens.’⁵

A glowing tribute to this Poet of Badāun is paid further by Amīr Khusrau in his *Ghurratul-Kamāl*; he depicts him as a nightingale of the garden of knowledge⁶. Furthermore, in his *Hasht Bihisht* Amīr Khusrau applauds Shihābuddīn of Badāun for his varied accomplishment in many branches of learning⁷. At the same time Amīr Khusrau acknowledges his debt of gratitude to this great poet for giving him lessons in verse-making and for helping him in many ways. By the phrase 'many ways' Amīr Khusrau perhaps meant one particular trait which became the characteristic feature of his own character—i.e. refusal to weave false poetry and flatter kings unduly in the hope of obtaining rich rewards combined with notable consciousness of Truth and Originality. Shihābuddīn also distinguished himself in the art of *qasīda*-writing. And in the domain of Indo-Persian poetry he composed odes in praise of *Allāh* and His Prophet; and introduced further a tinge of mysticism. From all these points and from the fact that Amīr Khusrau mentioned him in his introduction to the *Ghurratul-Kamāl*, it has been inferred that Amīr Khusrau regarded Shihābuddīn of Badāun as his *ustād*. He died at least one year before the composition of Amīr Khusrau's *Ghurratul-Kamāl* i.e. 694 A.H.

'Amīduddīn of Sanām (Sirhind) was not only a court poet of Sultan Shamsuddīn Iltutmish but was also drafted into State service and served as administrator in some capacity. The Sultan who had at one time been pleased to confer upon him the title of *Fakhrul-Mulk*⁸ was incidentally so displeased, on finding some flaw in his work, that he threw him into prison. The guilty poet then wrote a charming *qasīda* which he presented to the angry Sultan who was pleased to forgive him and released him from prison. He died a little before the tragic year 683 A.H. wherein took place the untimely death of the martyr prince Qā'ān Muhammad Shahīd. He was noted like Amīr Khusrau who followed him, for his poetic style—simple and sumptuous and full of flexible texture.

The works of the above poets along with other Persian source of information testify to the fact that as a result of the establishment of the Muslim kingdom with Delhi as the capital, a wholesome change came about in Indian civilization and culture which became noticeable in a new and high standard of food, clothing, domestic utensils and architecture. Under the Sultans of Delhi in the 13th and 14th centuries and under the Indo-Muslim rulers of the provincial kingdoms in the 15th century Persian continued as the vehicle of refined thought and enjoyed State patronage invariably with the result that Indian life was re-oriented and found a new vitality. After the type of the city of Delhi which had earned reputation as the rival of Bukhara and Damascus and as the largest city of the world, new cities arose like Mandu, Ahmadabad, Bijapur and Golkunda with their

forts, mosques and pleasure-houses bearing Persian names. A worthy son of India, an eminent scholar of Persian whose memory is fresh in the minds of my readers for he passed away recently, namely Dr. Tara Chand—explained the influence of Persian language and Islamic thought on Indian culture. He considered the rise of *Bhakti* movement, the Sikh religion of Guru Nānak and the eclectic sects of Kabīr, Dādu and Chaitanya as partly the result of the forceful ideas of Islamic monotheism, the ideas which spread like vigorous seeds of new life and culture all over this subcontinent.⁹ As a corollary of the same insurmountable force gushing with dynamic ideas of and about society and sociology came about the displacement of Brahmins as custodians of all channels of Hindu thought and expression. A necessary offshoot of this was the rise of new communities—the most important of all being the *Kāyasthas* who distinguished themselves as masters of Persian—and the development of regional languages. These languages notably the Panjabi, Gujarati and Bengali¹⁰—to name only three out of many others—bear witness to the influence of Persian in their respective cradlelands. Again, it was under the influence of Persian language and literature that a new effervescence of Indian genius began as illustrated by the display of new taste for fine arts and learning in the works of 'Tulsi Das, Sūr Das and Pandit Jagan Nath.¹¹ All of them marked a creative period of Indian literature.

It should be noted that historiography in Persian began as early as the 4th century Hijra (10th century A.D.) with the Persian translation of the Sanskrit work *Kalīla Dinna* followed by the Persian translation of the Arabic history of Tabari. In the history of Persian historiography under the Indian skies the first landmark is marked by the *Kitābul-Hind* of Abu Raihān al-Berūnī early in the 11th century A.D. The second landmark came towards the close of the 16th century in the shape of Abul Fazl's *Akbar-Nāma* which included the mighty source and prototype of all modern gazetteers, namely the *Ā'in-i Akbari*. The former is in Arabic, the latter in Persian. But the Arabic language of the *Kitābul-Hind* was begotten by the Iranian mind of its author. The powerful researches that it embodies not only created a tradition of historical research in this country but also worked like a magic wand awakening the slumbering minds of the Muslims as well as of the Hindus. Like the *Kitābul-Hind*, the *Akbar Nāma* and the *Ā'in-i Akbari* have also been sources of research in the history of India through the ages. These are the classical works which still enrich the imagination of the prospective historian and scholar, pointing out new avenues and even processes to be followed in order to reach sound conclusions and ascertain truth. The intervening five hundred years (1030-1594) separating the *Kitābul-Hind* from the *Akbar-Nāma* witnessed the emergence of three more well-heads of research—

namely the *Rihla* of Ibn Battūta, the *Masālikul-Absār* of Shihābuddin Ahmad Abbās, an encyclopaedia of 8th century Hijra (14th century A.D.), and the Arabic History of Gujarat written by Haji Dabīr.¹² It forms a connecting link between pre-Mughal India with India under the Great Mughals and is as illuminative as the preceding Persian counterparts—the *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri* of Minhājus-Sirāj, the two *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhi* (one by Ziyā'uddin Barani and another by Shams Sirāj 'Afīf) and the *Futūhus-Salātīn* of 'Isāmi. 'Isāmi was a rebel-poet and historian. His chief work is the epic of 12000 verses in chaste Persian, free from metaphor and figures of speech which I edited under the sub-title of *Shāhnāma-i Hind*.¹³ The quantum of research work that has been produced on the basis of the *Shāhnāma-i Hind* in the course of the past twenty years is a topic of great interest. I drop it for want of space. However, it may in passing be noted that no research scholar endowed with the knowledge of Persian will fail to draw inspiration from the said *Shāhnāma*. It enables us to see the panorama of history ranging over three centuries or so through obtuse lenses—a pleasure which will be enjoyed particularly by those who peruse it side by side with the three works of Ziyā'uddin Barani, i.e., *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhi*, *Fatāwā-i Jahānī* and the *Na't-i Muhammadi* as well as the *Rihla* of Ibn Battūta. For research purposes and perhaps serving further as feeders and source-materials of historiography are the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhi* of Yahyā bin Ahmad Sarhindi, the *Tabaqāt-i Akbari* of Nizāmuddīn Ahmad Bakhshi, the *Muntakhabut-Tawārīkh* of Mulla 'Abdul-Qādir Badāuni and the *Tārīkh-i Firishṭa* of Abul-Qāsim Hindu Shāh Firishṭa. Then follow in the eighteenth century the highlights and main sources of research in Persian, namely the *Siyarul-Muta'akhkhirīn* of Ghulam Husain Tabātabā'i and the *Riyāzus-Salātīn*. No work on the later Mughul emperors and the provincial history of Bengal can be planned or written without drawing upon these two principal historical works, which provide ample supply of research material.

In the closing one hundred years from 1759 to 1857 (1173-1275) covering the reigns of Shāh 'Ālam II, Akbar II and Bahādur Shah II Urdu began to take the place of Persian. While Shāh 'Ālam II had displayed his taste in Urdu for he was an Urdu poet with Āftāb as his poetic name and Akbar II had followed in his wake, Bahādur Shah II composed in Urdu his famous *Dīwān* in two volumes. These along with the Persian *Dastambu* of Asadullāh Khan Ghālib and its Urdu counterparts *Dāstān-i Ghadr* of Zakīrudīn Hasan Dehlavi, *Tārīkh-i 'Urūj-i 'Ahd-i Saltanat-i Inglisiya* of Maulvi Zakāullah, the *Sarkashi-i Bijnor* of Syed Ahmad Khān and his *Asbāb-i Ghadr* combined with the *Tārīkh-i Baghāwat-i Hind* of Pandit Kanahiya Lāl and *Sarguzasht-i Ghālib* became like the preceding classical literature in Persian the well-heads of research. Any book of

history written about the given period, especially the sensational activities of the reign of Bahādur Shāh Zafar, similarly any piece of research covering these events or relating to the relations of the East India Company with Mughal emperors, if undertaken and attempted without drawing upon the said well-heads of research in Persian or Persian-inspired Urdu, is sure to prove fruitless and to land the writer in difficulties.

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2. Elliot : *History of India as Told by its own Historians*, p. 562.
3. Iqbal Husain : *Early Persian Poets of India*, Patna, 1937, p. 55.
4. Lachhmi Narāyan Shafīq : *Gul-i Ra'nā*, (quoted by Iqbal Husain).
5. *Muntakhabat-Tawārīkh*, p. 71.
6. *Ghurraṭul-Kamāl* (Introduction), fol. 64b.
7. *Hasht Bihisht*, pp. 225-227.
8. Taqī Awhadi, 'Arafātul-Āshiqīn (quoted by Iqbal Husain, p.199).
9. Dr. Tara Chand : *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, Allahabad, 1963 pp. 70,132, 134, 168, 210.
10. *Op. cit.*, pp. 139, 140, 213, 214.
11. *Op. cit.*, pp. 145, 212.
12. For a critical account of the above Persian and Arabic sources see the *Tughlaq Dynasty*, 1963.
13. Published from Agra in 1939. An English translation along with commentary was prepared by this writer and published by Aligarh Muslim University, 1968.

Futūhus-Salātīn

Dr. S. Nabi Hādi

‘Asāmi, whose name does not seem to be exactly clear, carried to perfection the tradition laid down by Amīr Khusraw and attempted a full-length versified chronicle, the *Futūhus-Salātīn*¹ (Victories of the Sultans) in 750/1349. At an early age he cultivated in himself the essential literary ability required to transform the dry facts of history into a drama of exciting and everlasting interest. His object was to infuse his contemporaries with amusement and pride by presenting in flowing numbers the entire account of the Turkish military conquests in India. The spirit of an artist and an historian throughout worked in combination to bring out the flickering glimpses of events crowding the long period of three centuries that elapsed between Mahmūd of Ghazna and Muhammad bin Tughlaq. He almost correctly estimated that the society in which he lived owed its existence to the expansionist activities of the Turks and that its development had taken place through a series of conquests. In the scheme of arrangement adopted by him, was natural enough that valour, ruthless ambition, violence and mutual jealousy freely dominated the scene.

At the beginning of the work and also before its close there is repeated clarification in so many verses that he was prompted to its composition solely as an ardent follower of the two outstanding poets of epic tradition namely, Firdawsi and Nizāmi. No king or noble ever advised him to take up that project, nor had he any desire to extort reward from them in return for his labours. He just wanted to impress upon the world that like a man of genius he could successfully tread the path of old masters and was able to create equally brilliant version of the heroes who had in a way more justifiable claim for attention and whose memory, he was sure, the following generations in India would always cherish with affection and enthusiasm.

Of the two poets, however, it was Nizāmi of Ganjah and not Firdawsi, who provided greater inspiration for the design of the work. Nizāmi's vision appeared one night and exhorted the young poet to write. That dream fired his imagination to go ahead with the task that was to bring him

1. Agha Mahdi Husain (ed.) *Futuhus-Salātīn* (Agra, 1939).

immortality. He avowedly proclaimed that he would share that gift with his patron the Bahmani King ‘Alā‘uddīn Hasan; but that was mere courtesy. Already his fascination for Nizāmi had been so deep that according to his own admission whatever time of the day he spared from his five times prayers was spent in reading the celebrated *Khamṣa* (Nizāmi’s Five Mathnawis). Consequently, the master’s ideas, phraseology and soft tones of language dominated from beginning to the end of *Futūḥus-Salātīn*. To place it with *Shāh-Nāma* would be an exaggerated approach with which a serious student of Persian literature may not agree. First of all, Firdawsi’s treatment of the colossus of legends embracing timeless antiquity is a phenomenon that admits of no comparison. His work involved thirty years of patient efforts, whereas, the *Futūḥus-Salātīn*, spread over twelve thousand verses was ready in the hand of its author in five months and nine days only. The reference to Firdawsi, like S‘adi of Shīrāz, does not occur more than twice in the whole work; but Nizāmi has been quoted over half a dozen times, and similarly, his verses have been more frequently borrowed to embellish the discussions. Firdawsi’s somewhat rugged but grand style and the astounding depth of ideas set a unique standard of the art of versification and made him one of the most estimable figures of Iran’s intellectual history. ‘Asāmi’s statement before his royal patron: ‘Firdawsi brought down his work from ancient times to Mahmūd, and I take up from Mahmūd to your time,’ was not a correct view of *Shāh-Nāma*. In fact, Firdawsi confined himself only to the pre-Islamic era. These facts put together do not allow the argument for accomodating *Futūḥus-Salātīn* in the class of *Shāh-Nāma*, as one of the modern scholars of medieval Indian history has assiduously tried.²

The historical description opens with Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazna. The generations of Muslims, no doubt, tended to reserve their special reverence for Mahmūd ever since they established their settlement in Lahore and Multan and other places. But it was chiefly ‘Asāmi and also Barani—writing about seven years later—who seduced the common imagination to hold Mahmūd as a hero of Islam and a sincere servant of that faith in India. Nothing could be more repugnant to sound judgment than ‘Asāmi’s delineation of his first and foremost character. It may be illustrated by briefly mentioning some of the most queer tales inserted in the account: Subuktigīn was informed in dream of his son’s future greatness before the latter was born. Muhammad, the Prophet, had enjoyed the vision of Mahmūd so many centuries earlier and had honoured him with blessings.

2. See Agha Mahdi Husain, English translation of *Futūḥus-Salātīn*, Vol. I, Aligarh Muslim University, Deptt. of History.

Again, Mahmūd saw the Prophet in dream and expressed his earnest desire to serve the cause of Islam. On his way back from the expedition of Somnāth Mahmūd saved his army by miraculous power and the way which had been lost, appeared in sight due to his prayer. Once he needed water for ablutions before prayer and suddenly a spring gushed up from beneath the ground. The famous legend, often attributed to Kayqubād and elsewhere to Nawshirwān, of a peasant woman offering a glass of pomegranate juice to the King, has been unscrupulously repeated at length and its glory awarded to Mahmūd. These features have been endlessly added to the personality of this hero hoping, perhaps, that they would escape criticism and objection under the fair garb of poetry.

Nevertheless, the military events of the reign of Mahmūd and the subsequent vicissitudes befalling his son, Mas'ūd, have been faithfully narrated. Despite the wide knowledge which 'Asāmi showed regarding that period it seems doubtful whether he had access to the famous history of Bayhaqi. Invariably his practice was to start the topic by saying: "I heard it from old and authentic story-tellers". Thus, the precise reference to source has been conveniently overlooked. A brief address to the cup-bearer with entreaties for exhilarating wine before the close of every discussion was a characteristic literary device to create pleasing effect and retain the interest of the reader in transition from one subject-matter to the other.

'Asāmi deemed as of little significance the history of more or less one hundred and fifty years intervening the death of Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazna and the rise to power of Muhammad Ghūrī. For, he gave it a sweeping treatment in about a hundred verses only. During that period the Great Seljūqs on condition of being accepted as overlords, allowed the house of Ghazna to survive and maintain its hold over the territory which lay between the cities of Ghazna and Lahore. Thus, most of the Panjab and Sind continued in possession of the Ghaznawid family and they often carried military expeditions down into the heart of the Gangetic valley. The notices of these minor chance-victories, however, do not occur in the book. His real talents as versifier and story-teller shine out when he turns attention to Mu'izzuddīn Muhammad bin Sām Ghūrī and still more to the time onwards. The material at his command, a special category of literature known as *Fath-Nāma*, assumes larger proportion and his utilization of it becomes more and more careful.

Tracing the history of Delhi, 'Asāmi sighted in his imagination the early generations of Muslim immigrants striving to build a well-ordered city of wonderful structures. Possessing mature taste of urban decency

and faced with the dilemma of culture and climate they became passionately fond of importing the designs of architecture from the land of their ancestors. According to 'Asāmi's testimony, it was Iltutmish who first conceived the ambitious plan of making his capital a centre of civilization matching in all essential features with places situated elsewhere in the Islamic world. He extended invitations and lavishly encouraged 'the descendants of the Prophet, the learned scholars of Bukhara, the pious men of exalted dignity from every city, the wise doctors acquainted with the knowledge of Greece and Rome, the rich merchants dealing in diamonds and pearls and other costly merchandise and the artisans of every description. They all came like moths gathering around the candle'.³ From the reign of that sovereign, he said, Delhi's fame for splendour continued to spread far and wide.

His generation, seemingly, treated with disapproval some of the manners and customs which were normally valid during the early period of Slave dynasty. The way he described the reign of Raziyah, her activities and her ultimate end, indicated that peoples' attitude about female position in society had changed a lot, and the primitive simplicity of the early Turks was no more acceptable as a social norm. The observations made by him about the character of Sultan Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd reflected the general feelings of his contemporaries that the Sultan was a real favourite of God (*Wali*). But some of his utterances regarding that Sultan were mingled with unauthentic and rather absurd reports, for example, the long episode of playful competition between the young sons of Nāsiruddīn and Balban and the consequential tragedy whereby Balban was incited to take the life of the innocent Sultan by secret poison. Balban as sovereign has received fairly objective treatment and it is gratifying to note that neither dealing with Balban nor with any one else was 'Asāmi swayed, like Barani, by the disputed platonic ideal that a king must possess the qualities of a philosopher. However, the account of Kayqubād naturally suited his medium and on few occasions like that was the poet lucky to get as much charming and joyous material for his pen.

Passing on to the Khaljis his diction becomes more eloquent suggesting the change of scene. Particularly, interesting information has been revealed about the early life of 'Alā'uddīn when his character was in the formative stage. 'Asāmi showed that two factors : a haughty wife and a half-mad Sufi, were responsible to arouse cruel ambition in the mind of that young man. How superstition plays havoc in misleading the uncultivated spirits has been illustrated by mentioning a certain lunatic, whose business of the day was to strike stones at the heads of the passers-by, and

3. *Futuhūs-Salātīn*, p. 109.

who once shouted at 'Alā'uddīn and addressed him as the future king of India. That marvellous news was promptly confirmed by another Sufi named *Derwāsh Gurg* (Wolf), living at the town of Karah. From these episodes, and from an earlier one concerning the time of Jalāluddīn when all the Sufis joined hands against another rival Sidi Maula, and executed him on the double charge of magic and heresy, the historian's implicit object was to let the conduct of the Sufis be publicly examined. Usually their sect was supposed to be harmless and humane, but the dictum was not applicable all the time to all of them. They often suffered calumnious charges for their wayward and irresponsible manners.

The account between Balban and 'Alā'uddīn has been interspersed with frequent notices of the Mongols who posed great challenge to the safety of Delhi sultanate all through that period. 'Asāmi observed that some of the Mongol leaders, like one named Targhi Mughal, for example, had a plan to conquer the Indian empire for themselves, and that alone in the reign of 'Alā'uddīn they invaded seven times. The struggle of such crucial importance deserved to be recorded, for it gave an idea of the heroic courage displayed by the Indian Turks and their Rajput vassals who fought with them. While sketching the battle scenes 'Asāmi took real advantage of the studies made by him of Nizāmi and Firdawsi.

It was strange coincidence that none of the three major writers who closely witnessed the reign of Muhammad b. Tughlaq were kindly disposed towards him. They unanimously declared him as one of the most enigmatic personalities who ever ruled mankind. But 'Asāmi and Ibn Battūta were more implacable than Barani. The latter merely ridiculed the Sultan with contempt, whereas, the other two entertained unconcealed hatred also. According to Barani, the private life of the Sultan was spotlessly clean: he imposed upon himself the austerity of a philosopher. It was his public career which, despite honest intentions, earned him disrepute. Ibn Battūta and 'Asāmi, specially the latter, left totally disgusting images. He represented Muhammad Tughlaq as a fiend casting mischief upon mischief and deriving unnatural pleasure from the sufferings of mankind. In the list of crimes produced by 'Asāmi the first was that the Sultan plotted to kill his father. Ibn Battūta gave more or less the same evidence. Yet their accusation failed to stand the test of rational analysis, and on judicious examination, was deemed worthy to be rejected. Muhammad bin Tughlaq received honorable acquittal before the bar of history.⁴ Similarly the other

4. See Agha Mahdi Husain, *Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughlaq*, pp. 66-74 (Delhi, Reprint, 1972).

charges, that the Sultan ordered the Qarajil (Himalyan) expedition just to destroy human life, and, that in order to suppress revolts he systematically reduced the whole population of the empire to utter poverty, were found lacking in substantial reasoning. However, the world shall always regret that such a wonderful man was allowed, by the scholars of his time, although he himself was one of them, to be painted black by powerful adversaries and no one paid attention to write a favourable report and wash away the malice.

The memory of being forcefully removed from his peaceful and luxurious home at Delhi haunted 'Asāmi all his life. He was a boy when the royal order of mass-migration to Deogir, renamed Daulatabad, fell like thunderbolt on the citizens of the metropolis. The hardship and agony of the endless trail of people marching along the difficult route was personally witnessed by him, and was relished by the family, for, his grandfather, an old noble of high position, was one of the casualties of that sad journey. The soft and pleasure-loving inhabitants of the royal city were hardly used to adventure and, according to his statement, nine-tenth of them either died or disappeared, for the number of those reaching Daulatabad was only "One-tenth". The desolation of Delhi, so rich in monuments built by the previous Sultans, filled his heart with immense grief, and certainly, the feeling was shared by the whole generation.

As demanded by the nature of the work, the historian had to keep his gaze mostly fixed at Delhi; but in the end he diverted attention to the region which had recently become a theatre of interesting activities and where he had been unwillingly compelled to live. By narrating the complicated affairs of the Deccan in approximately two thousand verses he rendered valuable service to his patron, the founder of Bahmani kingdom. All the principal actors, who appeared on the stage to unfold the drama of successful revolt in reaction to the misrule of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, have been introduced and their role fully described. He showed that the class of nobles possessed excellent ability to restore order and could rule in any situation or environment. What they deemed essential for the stability of their system was one element, the monarch, which, in the hour of need, they often agreed to choose from amongst themselves.

Before closing the book he announced his verdict by contrasting the qualities of Muhammad bin Tughlaq and the Bahmani upstart who recently adopted the title of Abul-Muzaffar 'Alā'uddīn. Needless to say, the one received as much condemnation as the other was praised.

While reading the *Futūhus-Salātīn* we should not forget that it is half view of the picture. It completely ignores the contribution to the arts

of peace made by the Muslims in India. There are casual references to the Sufis, but the author failed to elaborate the significance of their humanistic principles. Nor did he realize, perhaps, that the application of the philosophy of love to social relations was bound to produce important results. The efforts for political cohesion of the subcontinent and the consequent uniformity and peace in wider areas, the safety of routes and easy mobility, the unprejudiced justice and emphasis on human well-being, and finally, the desire on the part of the rulers to make administrative experiments and accomodate local customs, were some of the factors that deserved to be brought to light; and by their omission 'Asāmi forfeited the credit which was not beyond his power to obtain.

Shaykh Farīd Ganj-i Shakar As A Model Sufi

Dr. M. Abdul-Haq Ansari

The Sūfis are a group of people within Islam who, besides faithfully carrying out the common obligations of Islam and scrupulously avoiding its prohibitions, choose for themselves a particular spiritual discipline in order to realize the higher ideals of the Prophet's religion that they set for themselves, and consistent with those ideals and the spiritual discipline develop a style of life and an attitude to society and its institutions, which, in spite of significant and at times remarkable variations, have remained on the whole fairly uniform.

The Prophet of Islam, after defining a basic structure of religion obligatory for all men and women, visualises a variety of ways which individuals can choose for their spiritual fulfilment according to their own abilities, temperaments and social situations. The Qur'ān refers to these ways as *subul al-salām*,¹ paths of peace and well-being; and the Prophet refers to them as *abwāb al-khayr*², ways of excellence, or *abwāb al-Jannat*, gates to the Paradise. In order to regulate individual options in the non-obligatory sphere, the Prophet has laid down broad guiding principles; he has also given some directives for the pursuit and realization of the ideals that one may opt. Observing those principles and following those directives, any individual, rich or poor, layman or intellectual, activist or contemplative, a devoted ascetic or a government officer, can rise up to spiritual heights, depending upon his own effort and the grace of God given to him or her.

This view of spiritual fulfilment for each and all, irrespective of one's place in society and profession, is elaborated by the Prophet in different ways. On one occasion he said:³ "There are many gates to the Paradise. The people of prayer and devotion will get in from the gate of devotion (*salāt*), the people of struggle in the way of God (*jihād*) from the gate of *jihād*, of fasting from the gate of *rayyān*, the satisfied ones of charity from the gate of charity, and some will enter from all of them." On a different occasion he said⁴: "There will be three kinds of people in the Paradise: first, those rulers who are just and righteous; second, those who have a kind

and sympathetic heart for each and all, near and distant; and third, those who discharge their family obligations with integrity and dignity." There were many occasions on which the Prophet was asked as to what is the best thing, or the highest good, or the most excellent man. In reply, he said different things to different men, such as,⁵ "good conduct", "feeding the hungry", "service to the weak and the old, the widow and the orphan", "love and hate for the sake of God", "a word of truth against the forces of injustice", "struggle for the good and against the evil with all might and means for the sake of God", "aquisition of knowledge and its dissemination", "remembrance of God and refraining from doing harm to the people."

The Sūfis chose a particular course of life for themselves, but they were aware of other courses and their values as visualised by the Prophet. Shaykh Sharafud-Dīn Yahyā of Maner (d. 782/1380) in Bihar wrote in one of his letters⁶, "The nearest way to God for kings and nobles and men of means and wealth is to succour the needy and to offer a helping hand to the down-trodden. A saint has said that there are many paths leading to the Lord, but the shortest is to console the afflicted and to give comfort to the hearts of men. Someone mentioned to the saint the goodness of a ruler who kept awake the whole night offering prayers and fasted during the day. Having heard this the saint said: 'He is neglecting his own work, while he is doing the work of others.' When the saint was asked what he meant by his remark, he added, 'The real function of a ruler is to feed his people well, to clothe the naked, to rehabilitate the desolate hearts of men and to succour the needy. As for the prayers and fastings and voluntary worship, the darveshes can very well do it.'"

Whatever ideal one chooses, one has to observe three things, *ikhhlās* or sincerity and purity of motive, *ihsān*, or a living awareness of God's presence, *nasīhat*, or a profound concern and active struggle for the good and well-being of man in the widest sense of the term. One has to pursue his ideals in a spirit of real humility (*'ubūdīyat*), seeking the grace of God with faith and trust, and with fear and love.

What distinguishes a Sūfi's option from other options is a love of solitude, a withdrawal from active life in society, a renunciation of material needs, a continuous remembrance of God with passion and with an element of ecstasy, a contact with the Divine, not unknown to others, but developed to great heights in the Sūfi, which is often singled out by scholars as the Sūfi mystique. The Sūfi has a spiritual discipline that consists of elements taken from the Prophet's teachings, as well as elements which the Sūfi learns by experience, either his own or of his elders handed down

to him esoterically from 'heart to heart.' The Sūfi may also borrow elements from other mystical traditions, as some have done from the Christian, Buddhist and Indian sources. Variations in the spiritual disciplines, however, owe mainly to the experiences of outstanding personalities of Sūfism and are adaptations of or developments over Prophetic practices. When these are consolidated and perpetuated, a particular Sūfi tradition, commonly known as *silsilah* (order) develops. But these orders do not exclude minor changes and adjustments from their fold.

Some Sūfis do not speak of their spiritual experiences; some describe them in ordinary language; some use the personality-oriented language of the theologians (*mutakallimān*); some employ the most general categories of thought like being and non-being and, using all the philosophical and even scientific knowledge available, construct a system of mystical philosophy.

The Prophet's religion contains besides a set of laws regulating the institutions of society and a code of conduct governing individual relations, a vision of life and its ideals, stated, suggested or implied in various forms, and also a view of Reality, man and history, expressed in a language which is neither philosophical nor theological (*kalāmī*), and which in view of various parallels in some sections of the Old Testament and the Synoptic Gospels in the New Testament, and in various other sacred writings in Persia and in our own country, may be categorized as the Prophetic language.

The word *Sharī'at*, since it means all that is given by an authority (*Shāri'*), stands in its wider sense for what I have been referring to as the Prophet's religion. This wider meaning of *Sharī'at* is referred to in the Qur'ān (xl : 18), in *kalām* (theological) and in *fiqh* (juristic) literature and even in the writings of the Sūfis such as Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi (d. 1034/ 1624), Shāh Walīullāh (d. 1176/1762) and others. There are other meanings of *Sharī'at*, which arise by limiting the scope of the term in various degrees and in different contexts. In one instance, the meaning of *Sharī'at* is limited to the laws of the government, regulations for social behaviour and rules for religious matters, as is done in *fiqh* literature, excluding the ideal and the higher dimensions called by the theologians *Akhlāq* (ethics) and '*Aqā'id* (creeds), and by the early Sūfis *haqīqat*. In later Sūfi writings the word *haqīqat* has been restricted to the Reality dimension, excluding the ethical, as experienced in a super-rational mystic intuition.

In the light of the above observations, it is clear that the Prophet's religion and Sūfism are not identical. There is a real difference between the two, Sūfism being a way of a people choosing for their highest spiritual

fulfilment a particular path among many other paths equally admitted by the Prophet, provided they do not cross certain limits. On this view of the difference, it is wrong to assume an in-built tension or assert a contradiction, as some people do, between the Prophet's religion and Sūfism.

But tensions and contradictions may arise and have in fact arisen to which the Sūfis and the champions of the *Sharī'at*, the theologians and the jurists, both have equally contributed. Many Sūfis and poets, oriental scholars and Islamic writers, have referred to tensions between the exoteric and the esoteric, between reason and love, knowledge and intuition, sobriety and ecstasy, this-worldliness and the other-worldliness. All these are right when viewed as points of respective emphases, but wrong when viewed as exclusive concerns of either the *'ulamā* or the Sūfis. The major areas of tension between them lie elsewhere, and they are three. The first relates to some elements of the spiritual discipline and the style of living which have no sufficient support or no support at all from the *Sharī'at*. *Samā'* (music) is a case in point. On such issues there is a difference of opinion among the Sūfis of different orders, and even between two Sūfis of the same order. Although some hyper-sensitive *'ulamā* would not allow even the use of rosary in *dhikr* (remembrance of God), the majority does, however, distinguish between different types of innovations and judges them on individual merits.

The second and more important point of difference concerns what has been referred to earlier as the Reality-dimension of the Prophet's religion. There are suggestions in the Qur'ān and clear references in the *Sunnat* of the Prophet that besides Revelation (*Wahy*) and reason, there is also a third mode of experience in which man comes in contact with the Divine. This is acceptable by the *'ulamā*: they differ, however, from the Sūfis in their assessment of the value of the extra-rational and extra-revelatory experience and much more about the interpretations which the mystics give of their experiences and the view of Reality that they construct with the philosophical resources available to them. It must be noted here that on such points disputations, at times hot and passionate, have also occurred between the Sūfis themselves. In my understanding which can be supported by quoting from many mystics, there is no *the* mystic perspective on Reality, as there is no *the* theological point of view. I look at all perspectives as a mixture of truth and untruth, a human effort valuable, even indispensable, yet fallible even when they are partly inspired, and hence subject to review and criticism in the light of the Revelation and reason.

The third point of difference between the Sūfis and the *'ulamā* referred by some as a point of conflict, even a cause of mutual denunciation, is

related to the attitudes of both the groups towards the social and particularly the political institutions of society. It is true that Sūfis in general have avoided direct participation in politics and association with government offices, as some 'ulamā and jurists have also done. But there has been a difference of opinion also among the Sūfis, for example, between the Chishtis and the Suhrawardis in our country, on the extent of co-operation with the government of the day for the sake of the good of humanity, particularly of the weaker and the poorer people—a cause which every Sūfi has held most dear to his heart. As to the enforcement of the laws of justice and equity and the provision for the needs of men and women, irrespective of their class, creed, and religion the Sūfis have never been cold and indifferent. On the contrary, great Sūfis have always been awake to the situation and deeply concerned with it. Their aversion to government offices and politics is a result of their conviction that their vocation is different, which would best be served, in their view, by keeping away from the government; this aversion cannot be construed in the light of what we have quoted earlier from Shaykh Sharafud-Dīn Yahyā of Maner, as a depreciation of power or an indication of the futility of the government bodies. The importance, therefore, which some Sūfis in the Mughal period have attached to the role of the government and the establishment of right political institutions, is only a reaffirmation of what Shaykh Maneri said centuries ago.

I have been trying to put Sūfism in the general context of Islam as great Sūfis have done. Evidence inconsistent with this view can, of course, be produced from the long and chequered history of Sūfism. But they should be treated, I submit, as deviations from the dominant or certainly the best trend of Sūfism.

Along with this, I have also been trying to show the relation of mysticism with Sūfism. If by mysticism one means the revelation of mysteries about metaphysical realities along with a theory about the nature of human soul (*rūh*) or self (*ātman*) or the meta-ātman 'void', which goes by the name of gnosis or *ma'rifat* in a restricted sense, then mysticism is not, according to many Sūfis themselves, an essential part of Sūfism, nor a measure of their spiritual progress. But some insight into the ways and working of the Divine in human life has been generally regarded as a real possibility, as well as a grace of God. Insights and revelations (*mukāshafāt*) have a value in Sūfism similar to the value ascribed to the divinely inspired wonders (*karāmāt*), which the Sūfis consider a reality and a privilege, without counting them as essential to spiritual attainments.

From the references to Shaykh Farīduḍ-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar (569/1173—664/1265) in the *Fawā'idul-Fu'ād* of Amīr Hasan Sijzi, or from

the biographical informations and teachings contained in *Siyarul-Awliyā* of Amīr Khurd, and from the couplets attributed to Bābā Farīd in the *Adi Granth*, one thing comes out very clear that Shaykh Farīd was not a mystic in the common sense of the term, who would reveal mysteries and teach esoteric truths. Nothing of the sort has been reported of him. Nothing either of that nature has been narrated of his illustrious disciple and successor and the great promoter of Chishti *silsilah* throughout India, Shaykh Nizāmud-Dīn (d. 725/1325), except a few observations on the *ma'iyat* or presence of God, Divine justice⁹ and the *mi'rāj* of the Prophet in an ordinary language with few theological (*kalāmi*) terms; and these observations contain nothing new.

This attitude of Sh. Farīd and Sh. Nizām towards mysteries, specially when one views it in the context of their age which produced the great expounders of the mystical philosophy of *Wahdatul-Wujūd* (Unity of Being) such as Ibn 'Arabi (d. 638/1240) an elder contemporary of Shaykh Farīd, and Sadrud-Dīn al-Qawnawi (d. 762/1236), his younger contemporary, and Fakhrud-Dīn 'Irāqi who was educated and trained in Sūfism in Punjab, irresistably leads one to a great and, I think, indisputable conclusion: *Revelation of mysteries is no part of the essence of Sūfism, and certainly not a criterion of a Sūfi's eminence.* One arrives at this conclusion also by reading the *'Awārif-ul-Ma'ārif* of Shahābud-Dīn Suhrawardi (d. 634/1234) which was a favourite book¹⁰ of Shaykh Farīd, the *Futūhul-Ghayb* of 'Abdul-Qādir Jīlāni (d. 561/1165), and by contemplating on whatever information one gets about Bahā'ud-Dīn Naqshband (d. 791/1389), the great founders of the well-known orders of Sūfism.

Having said what the Sūfism of Shaykh Farīd was not, let us proceed to understand what it was. For that purpose the best way is to quote some relevant words of the Shaykh about what he considered the *haqīqat* (essence) of Sūfism, and to recall what has been reported about the Shaykh's most precious moments of life.

“Real life is that which a darvesh passes in remembering God”¹¹.

“He (i.e. Shaykh Farīd) would often say to the people, May God give you love.”¹²

To these words of the Master, Shaykh Nizāmud-Dīn adds¹³ :

“The followers of the *tarīqat* and *haqīqat* agree that the main purpose and objective of man's creation is the love of the Supreme Being.”

He also says:

“Working of wonders and revelations of mysteries are the obstacles of the way. The real task is steadfastness in love.”⁴¹

To an enquiry by his brother Shaykh Najībud-Dīn Mutawakkil about people's saying that when Shaykh Farīd offers prayers and says at the end, “My Lord!” he hears the Lord answering, “I am here, My servant”, Shaykh Farīd replied, “What they say is correct.”¹⁵

Shaykh Nizāmud-Dīn narrates that one day while he was waiting at the door of Shaykh Farīd's room he heard that the Shaykh was reciting the following couplets¹⁶:

خواهم که همیشه در هوای توزیم خاکی شوم و بزیر پای توزیم
مقصود من هرزه ز کونین توئی از بهر تو میرم ، از برای توزیم

“My Lord! I want to live by your love. I wish to be the dust under your feet. There is nothing that I want from this world or the next, and I have no desire except that I should live for you and die for you.”

Shaykh Nizām was convinced that that was *the real time* of the Master, and felt an irresistible desire to enter into the room and have a look at the Shaykh. He knocked at the door and entered, and lo and behold! “The Shaykh was now moving forward towards the *Qiblah* and then retracing his steps, with his hands at his back; and now putting his head on the ground, and reciting all the while in a state of rapture and ecstasy :

“I love none in either worlds except you,
I want only to live for you and die for you.”

Shaykh Nizāmud-Dīn says that Shaykh Farīd used to pray continuously for two hours with his head on the ground every morning after the *Fajr salāt* (i.e. the common morning prayer).¹⁷

Amīr Khurd mentions the following saying¹⁸ :

“Let one be steady in following the Prophet, let him not miss anything that he has recommended, or do anything that he has disapproved.”

And Shaykh Nizām reports that “once Sh. Farīd offered him a piece of melon while he was fasting, whereas Shaykh Farīd was not able to fast. Shaykh Nizām was tempted to eat the piece. But Shaykh Farīd said : “Don’t take it. You should know that it is against the *Sharī‘at*. Keep it for the evening, and break your fast with it. Remember that you have always to observe the *Sharī‘at*.”¹⁹

In the light of the above evidence, *the spiritual experience of Shaykh Farīd consisted in sincerely pursuing in his own way the Prophet’s religion with love and passion and self-effacement in the living presence of God.*

In the tradition of Shaykh Farīd and Shaykh Nizāmud-Dīn *samā‘*, hearing of songs, was a common means of kindling the fire of love, which would at times lead to ecstatic states and movements. Shaykh Farīd did allow occasional ecstasy, but he did not approve of long spells of intoxication. That is clear from the way he admonished one of his highly emotional disciples, when he, once, leading a prayer burst into chanting a Persian verse ; and on another occasion, failed to respond to the Master’s call. Shaykh Farīd condemned the intoxication and said : “All your prayers and devotions are lost. Go and start your work from the beginning.”²⁰

Shaykh Farīd had a strong *dhawq* for the Qur’ān; he was fond of reading and contemplating and teaching the Holy Book. He was habituated to fasting on most of the days, and at times fasted continuously for three days and nights (*sawm tay*)²¹. The elders of his tradition had taken up long travels, but travelling was no part of his own discipline. Nor did he make *Hajj*. Amīr Khurd says that once he started for *Hajj*, but changed his mind on the way and returned home : the reason he gives is that the Shaykh did not want to go against his master’s practice who did not perform the *Hajj*. This reason is not convincing, because in such matters Shaykh Farīd would hardly feel bound by his master’s precedent.

Shaykh Farīd is known for his austere devotions. One such austerity was the *Chillah Ma‘kūs*, praying God in a state of inverted suspension in a well for forty nights being lowered down every night and taken out in the morning by a friend who attended on him. This practice was never ordered by the Shaykh’s master, Shaykh Bakhtiyār Kāki. In fact he dissuaded him first and yielded later to his insistence without making any comments.²² This reminds me of an incident. “Once the Prophet found a rope tied with a pillar in his mosque. After enquiry he found that one of his wives had tied the rope; whenever she felt tired in praying she took the help of the rope in keeping her awake. The Prophet ordered to untie the rope and said: ‘Let one pray while one is in good spirit, and sleep when one is tired.’”²³

Shaykh Farīd's *Chillah* does not seem to be consistent with the Prophet's approach. It may be, as it has been the case with Shaykh Abū Sa'īd Abul-Khayr²⁴ (d.440/1049), that Shaykh Farīd thought that there was some support for the practice in the traditions of the Prophet. But there is no support at all as Shāh Waliullāh has noted.²⁵ One need not wonder if Shaykh Farīd was not well-informed on the point. The books of *Hadīth* (Prophetic Traditions) and a critical appreciation of the Prophetic *Sunnat* (established way) were introduced in India centuries later in the early Mughal period.²⁶ Moreover, the Sūfis have not been on the whole very searching about the authenticity of the Prophetic traditions.

Another element which is very conspicuous in Shaykh Farīd's discipline is his great renunciation, his love of poverty and starvation. It is remarkable that he kept up to his high standards throughout his life. There are some aspects of his chosen path, however, which are not very pleasant. An instance is the cold and unfatherly way the Shaykh responded to the request of his wife who brought their small child almost at the verge of death because of starvation.²⁷ Another instance is the Shaykh's permission for circulating a begging bowl (*zanbīl*)²⁸ for food, and his refusal to borrow money considering it inconsistent, as has been alleged, with trust in God, whereas his Master and the Prophet himself had borrowed money. This illustrates the point that a Sūfi even of the calibre of Shaykh Farīd may commit excesses as the 'ulamā do.

Shaykh Farīd makes a distinction between three types of *zakāt*: a *zakāt* of the *Sharī'at* that means giving out in charity 5 *dirhams* out of 200 *dirhams*, a *zakāt* of *Tarīqat* that means retaining 5 *dirhams* only and giving out the rest, and a *zakāt* of *Haqīqat* that means giving all and keeping nothing for oneself.²⁹ Leaving apart the question of terminology, the idea that the highest ideal is to give every thing in charity and to adopt that style as a permanent way of life is disputable even for those who choose the path of a *darvesh* and is certainly not agreed upon by all the Sūfis.

I would conclude this paper by discussing another aspect of Shaykh Farīd's *tarīqat*. A deep concern with the good of mankind and a struggle for its realization is one of the basic principles of Islam, so much so that the Prophet at one occasion identified true religion with active sympathy and concern (*al-Dīn al-nasīhat*). Shaykh Farīd also used to speak in a very moving language to people for bringing happiness to every one, even to the enemies, and himself tried his best to render to each his due³¹. After the noon prayer, he usually met the visitors and tried to help them in all possible ways. "Come to me", he used to say, "one by one so that I may attend to you easily."³² He would pray for them, give *ta'wīz*, write

letters of recommendation to men of means and power. And when he had some money given to him unasked, he would immediately spend it on the needy people who flocked to his *khāniqāh* and preferred to live and keep his family on bare subsistence. This is how he brought himself to the level of the poorest of the poor of whom Ajodhan was mostly inhabited and identified himself with the masses. Shaykh Nizām echoed him in speaking the words that shall never be forgotten: "When people eat before me, I feel their food passing down my gullet, as though I am actually eating it."⁸⁸

How did Shaykh Farīd view his service to humanity and his effort to identify himself with their joys and sufferings in the context of his *tarīqat* is clear from his following words: "There can be no pleasure in devotions so long as there remains a single needy person at the door". The tremendous impact that Shaykh Farīd made on the people of western India in general and of Ajodhan in particular, or the great influence that Shaykh Nizām exercised in the sub-continent and on the people of Delhi described by Barani as "taking by the Shaykh the inhabitants of the region under his wings", was produced by the great renunciation and selfless devotion to the happiness of man.

Shaykh Farīd most beautifully combined three qualities in him: first, a sincere pursuit of the highest ideals of religion in his own sphere (Islām); second, a profound love of God (*Ihsān* in the Qur'an and the Hadīth, and '*Ishq* in Sūfism); and third, sympathy and sacrifice for all. What distinguishes him from a pious devotee '*ābid* or '*zāhid* is his passionate love of God, and what distinguishes him from an intoxicated *qalandar* is his regard for the *Sharī'at* in its wider sense, which is the religion of the whole man devoted to all mankind. "God has given you knowledge, intelligence and love; and he who has these three qualities is best suited to carry on the mission of the *darveshes*."

These were the words which Shaykh Farīdud-Dīn addressed to Shaykh Nizāmud-Dīn when he appointed him as his successor.

References :

1. *Qur'an*, 5 : 6.
2. *Mishkāt al-Masābīh*, al Tabrīzī, ed. Nasirud-Dīn al-Bani, vol. 1, *Hadith*, 29.
3. *Riyāḍ al-Sālihīn*, ed. M. Ridwān, al-Maktabat al-Tijariyat al-Kubra, p. 444.
4. Ibid, p. 284.
5. For these traditions see *Mishkāt*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, book. 1, Ch. I. Also *Riyāḍ al-Sālihīn*, Ch. "Turuq al-khayr".
6. *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, Yusuf Husain Khan, Asia Publishing House, 1962, p. 52.
7. *Siyar al-Awliyā*, Amīr Khurd, Delhi, p. 569.
8. *Fawā'id al-Fu'ū'ād*, Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1908, pp. 110-111.
9. *Siyar*, *op. cit.*, p. 540.
10. *Fawā'id*, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
11. Ibid. p. 20.
12. Ibid. p. 132.
13. *Siyar*, quoted in *Glimpses*, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
14. *Fawā'id*, p. 33.
15. Ibid. p. 121.
16. Ibid. p. 203, and *Khayr al-Majālis*, Hamīd Qalandar, ed. Khalīq Ahmad Nizami, Aligarh Muslim University, p. 224.
17. *Fawā'id*, p. 152.
18. *Siyar*, p. 318.
19. *Fawā'id*, p. 53.
20. *Siyar*, pp. 172, 177.
21. *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, 'Abdul-Haq Muhaddith, Delhi, 1332 A.H., p. 53.
22. *Fawā'id*, p. 7; *Siyar*, pp. 68-70.

23. *Riyād al-Sālihīn*, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
24. *Fawā'id*, p. 7.
25. *Qawl al-Jamīl*, Shāh Walīullāh, with Urdu translation, Deoband, p. 42.
26. For an assessment of the knowledge of *Hadith* in the age of Shaykh Farīd and even later see a comment by a modern Arabic scholar and historian of Islam and a Sūfi with a following, Abul-Hasan 'Alī Nadwi in *Tarīkh Da'wat wa 'Azmat*, vol. iii, footnote, p.128.
27. *Siyar*, p. 67; *Akhhār al-Akhyār*, p. 53.
28. *Siyar*, p. 66; *Khayr al-Majālis*, *opt. cl.*, p. 150; *Akhhār al-Akhyār*, p. 52.
29. *Siyar* p. 66.
30. *Fawā'id*, p. 103.
31. *Ibid.* p. 140.
32. *Ibid.* p. 68.
33. *Siyar*, p. 77.
34. *Ibid.* p. 412.
35. *Tarīkh Fīroz Shāhi*, Barani, p. 112.
36. *Siyar*, p. 345.

A Few Facts about the Persian Sitar in India and Elsewhere,

Shahab Sarmadi

The immediate derivation of the word 'guitar' from Arabic قيثارة or قيثارة, pronounced by the Franks as 'kouitra', is an established fact. Similarly this is also beyond question that the instrument itself has been Asian in origin. Strabo (Geog. x,iii,17) says about "striking forcibly the 'Asias Kithara'". Earlier than him and perhaps also the earliest to have referred to this instrument in the West, has been Homer. He sometimes talks of a 'phorminx' and sometimes of a 'Kitaris', always meaning a stringed instrument. Then there is the same instrument as the Greek 'Cithara' and also the Hebrew 'Kithros'. In the Ode of Solomon (iv, xiv) "God's Holy Spirit" is likened by the Jews to the sounds of the 'Kithara'. Its shape, as allotted to it also by Greek mythology is retained by the Greek 'Cithara'. It has been 'tortoise-like', i.e. *concave*, which reminds us of the 'Kacchapi Vīna' and the much later 'Kacchwa Sitār' as well as of Bharat's 'Chitra-Vīna': Chitra being closer to Sitār, phonetically.¹

In the face of all this stands out the fact that the original home-land of this instrument had been Greater Persia of ancient times where and when it was designed and designated as Sitā, Sitāy and Sitār, on account of its having *three* strings instead of the traditional *two*, say, of Rabāb. That it travelled from there to Babylon and Byzantium, Greece and Rome, and then through Arabs to further West has been historically traced and accepted. It is also to be noted that, according to Diodorus, Mercury's Lyre, too, had only three strings. And more significant than this has been Homer's own statement quoted by Dr. Panum. He writes: "Homer says of a new type of lyre, which came from Asia Minor to Greece, where the tortoise-lyre was Kitārā, while the national tortoise-lyre was given another title, the lyre". This instrument was spelt out by the Greeks as Cithara. About it a French writer, Daniel Salvador, finds out: "The Cithara remained an instrument different from others of the species, although it retained more than the others the primitive shape found in the قيثارة (Kouitra) of the Arabs."

The individuality of the instrument, it seems, asserted itself down to the present day. For we find its historians saying almost in accord: "In the Arabic of the present day Kithara is still in use but the Arabs of North Africa pronounce it githara (with a hard 'g' and a 'th' as in 'thick')." The aforesaid author of *La Musique Arabe*, moreover, adds that whilst in Algeria the pronunciation is Kouitra it is more soft in Tunis, and in Morocco it is Kitra. This agrees, Dr. Farmer thinks, with the medieval Hispano-Arab word Cuitre or Cuitara. This also very much resembles the Schetra of the gypsies, who have been singular in re-inforcing the oriental musical idiom in Europe. And "the gipsy Schetra derives its name from the Persian Sitār"; this is a considered opinion.³

Sitār, in classical Persian literature, is also to be found as Sitā and Sitāy. As is Known, 'tā' (تا) or 'tāy' (تاي) in Persian meaning 'gut', has been taken to denote 'tār' in later times. Thus we have Nizāmī Ganjavi, preceded by the epic-historian Firdawsi, using almost all these forms to refer to one and the same instrument. It is also evidenced that this has been the instrument par excellence in the hands of Bārbad, the immortal court minstrel of Khusraw Parwez (580-629 A.D.). The usual image is: Bārbad, the vocalist, plays upon his Sitāy/Sitār and sings; while his inveterate rival Nakīsā keeps company on Chang. This is so coincidental with what Amīr Khusraw has to inform about himself and Ustād Mohammad Shāh Changi. The only difference being that like a self-trained Indian of the times he is nowhere on record to have held any instrument while singing.⁴

As regards its shape and structure it may be safely said that as an instrument of popular song Sitār almost always remained what it ever was. A Panja (head) with three Goshīs (pegs); a Dasta (stem) straight and narrow with three strings and no frets and a Kāsa (bowl), slender bottomed and pear-shaped with the shapely slit of a Dahāna (mouth) or a parchment-covered 'bowl' to impart to the notes the 'timbre and tonal quality' desired. This has been the Sitāy/Sitār as originally conceived and initiated. And thus it remains as it moves on the mounting crest of cultural expansion. In the early days of Islam, for instance, it is found in Turkey. There a three-stringed, easily recognisable, instrument of 7th century is seen in popular practice as Kitāra. And so with the

Arabs. Dr. Farmer identifies their Kouitra as "smaller" than *L'oud* (العود) with "no frets and the head instead of being turned at a right angle, is almost straight." The famous Fārābi (d. 950) and the author of the well known compendium *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, Abul-Faraj-i Isfahāni, alias Ali al-Isfahāni

(897-967) also speak about the same instrument in the 10th century. Firdawsi in 11th century and later on Nizāmi in 12th-13th centuries give it a representative status. After this, silence prevails in the East until broken in India by the great Sārangadeva (1210-1247) and his Tri-tantrika, (iii,6,8-9). His illustrious commentator, Kallināth, however, poses a difficulty by identifying Tri-tantrika as the "Three-stringed Folk-based Vīna commonly called Jantra." This folk-based instrument had not perhaps much in common with Sitār except its sophisticated name, Tri-tantrika, for the earliest Persian writers on Medieval Indian Music (including Amīr Khusraw) take no notice of either. And even when they do, only Jantar and Bīn figure as two of the outstanding Tat-s (stringed instruments) of India. Sitār finds no mention in any of the Persian writings upto almost the middle of 18th century.

Among the notables who have described Jantar and Bīn are Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, Abul-Fazl, Faqīrullāh and Mullā Tughrā Mashhadi, etc. Abul-Fazl writes :

"The first of this variety is the instrument pronounced Jantar; its Danda is of wood, about a yard in length and hollow from inside. On the two ends, two half-gourds are fixed. On top is the finger-board with an array of sixteen (fret) pieces of wood; running over them are five steel strings made taut at the two extremes. The bass and the high *pitch*s and the variance of the two depend over the placings of and the relative *intervals* between the *frets*." 8

As regards the other variety, namely Bīn, Abul-Fazl informs : that it is "Just like Jantar but with three strings."

Faqīrullāh identifies the two instruments in similar words and so do all others who follow them. The depiction of the two in contemporary art is also on the same lines. The question arises : Who is more correct; Kallināth or Abul-Fazl, or, in particular Faqīrullāh — a great performing artist and musicologist in his own right? And then there are the visual representations of the two instruments. Taking recourse to only two of the major art collections — G. N. Tagore and A. K. Coomarswamy — it may be asked : how is the portrayal of the Three-stringed Bīn with twelve clearly marked *pardas* therein to be reconciled with the Three-stringed Jantra of Kallināth (15th century), unless the fact is recognised that the one metamorphosed itself into the other? In any case, later developments support this surmise. For we find — in post-Mohammad Shah period (1719-1748) — the same Three-

stringed Bīn fraternising with the upcomming Sitār, and still later on an instrument called Bīn-sitār gaining recognition. Captain C. R. Day (printed text : 1891) writes about it, saying :

"... in outward appearance very similar to the Bīn, previously described. It differs in, however, that the *frets* are movable and arranged precisely as given for those of the Sitār ... The Bīn-sitār is not a common instrument indeed. The few that I have met with have all been in Poona and the neighbourhood. The tuning is like that of the Bīn... (p. 123).

"Sitār, of course, had its own separate identity — its own course of development. In fact, during the times just quoted, it is perhaps the commonest of all the stringed instruments of India, being much admired....

"Sitaras called Taraffedar, with sympathetic strings underneath those played upon, are sometimes found....

Some Sitārs were also there with their bodies almost flat, instead of being pear-shaped... To such Sitārs the name Kachwar is given. Some people give the name Kacchapi Vīna to them. Another common instrument of this description is called the Sur-bahār, which is merely a large size Sitār or Kacchapi Vīna, played with a steel plectrum, and specially used for the performance of Alāps or Rāgas.... It is tuned of course as the ordinary Sitār.

"But besides the Sitār just described there is another form of the instrument to be met with in Southern India: It might be called the Karnātik Sitār, and it differs from the ordinary Sitār, in that it is confined in its intonation and is generally made with a much thinner and shorter neck.... It is usually shaped somewhat like a Tambūri. . . .

"Karnātik Sitārs are sometimes found fretted with throughout in semi-tonic intervals, the number of frets being the same as in a Vīna...." (pp. 118 & 121).

Exclusive and distinct from these varieties of it has been the parent-Sitār, known even as late as the closing decade of 19th century as "the Persian Sitār". It was even then three-stringed. Captain Day reports : "Its use in India is very uncommon, but it is sometimes met with in large native cities, such as Hyderabad or Jaypore, where it is admired chiefly as a

variety. . . . As can be seen (in the specimen-plate), the belly is of parchment, and the tail-pin which serves as a foot for the instrument, is of brass, rather curiously worked. *There are usually three gut strings, tuned like those of a Sārangi and played by means of a bow*" (p. 131).

And now we shall have a brief survey of the technique so as to follow the career of Sitār down the ages and bring out in particular some of the most important aspects of its assimilated growth in India :

Its three strings have always been Bam, Zīr and Miyāna.

In Greece of old, according to Diodorus, Mercury's Lyre had only three strings, no doubt, the three connected tetrachords : D - G - C (रे-ग-र of ours). Boethius, however, speaks of Mercury's *tetrachords* as the four notes, while Nichomachus attributes it to Pythagoras. The fact that remains is that among the ancients, the tetrachord played the same part as the octave amongst us. We have the proof of this in the complete independence of each tetrachord, in the existence of the three-holed flute giving only four *notes*, and in the four syllables for sol-fa. These latter, according to Quintillian were "to", "ta", "the" and "tho" and were repeated for each tetrachord, as we repeat seven of them for each octave.

The Tunisians, who, like the Algerians have no musical alphabet, still use the same syllables in teaching the kouitra.

The kouitra had its method of tuning which could have come "only from the Greeks, for we find it in two *disconnected* tetrachords giving the octave as *extreme notes*, and separated by an interval of a note, thus:

D - G, A - D

(रे-ग, ष-रे)

It is to be noted here that the "kouitra has (in late 19th century) eight strings, there being two to each *note* ; so it really gives only four *notes*. It is played by means of a quill held in the right hand, while the fingers of the left do the same as with our (European) guitar. The finger-board has no frets."

Like Francisco Salvador, the French, reporting as above about the Arabian قيطارة (kouitra) in Tunisia and Algiers, we have fortunately for us Captain N. Augustus Willard (writing about 1834) in North India. Both knew very well about the music of the East and West and both loved the host-music better than their own. Captain Willard writes :

“(Sitār) is likewise a modern instrument, and was invented by Amir Khusraw of Delhi. It resembles the last mentioned instrument (*Tanpoora*), but is made a good deal smaller and has movable frets of silver, brass, or other materials which are fastened with catgut or silk. Seventeen frets are generally used. . . .

“The instrument derives its name from *si* (*sih*), signifying in Persian three, and *tār*, a string, as that number is commonly used. More modern performers have made several additions.

“Of the three wires, one is steel, and the others brass. These last are tuned in unison, and are called *kharaj* from their sound, and the other is a perfect fourth to it. The fingers of the left hand slide over frets on the finger-board, and stop the notes in the same manner as on the guitar, and the wires are struck with the forefinger of the right, to which is fitted a kind of plectrum, an instrument called *mizrāb*, made of a piece of wire curiously twisted to facilitate the various movements of the finger.

“The Sitār is very much admired and is used both by professional and amateur performers and is really a very pleasing toned instrument in the hands of an expert performer.”

This related to the period just prior to 1834 when Willard's treatise was first published. A rare Persian manuscript — *Naghmātul-Ajā'ib* (scribed 1247/1831) certainly preceded this. It again associates Sitār in the popular fashion with Khusraw in the words :

“و بران سه تار کشیده گاه گاهی دل خود را طرب اندوز می کرد”

(and he arranged on it three strings to occasionally play on them to his delight. p. 10).

More significant, however, is this that the author has given us line-drawing of this Sitār towards the end of the book. Here it is depicted as a single-bowled, three-stringed instrument, with no gourds and no frets. Interesting enough! For this is almost the instrument described as Persian Sitār by Captain C.R. Day about 1891 and depicted picturesquely by him through a colour-drawing.⁷

Leaving the last century at that, we enter the present. Writing in 1921, Rev. Popley has been one of the first to talk about the instrument in useful detail. According to him :

“The principles of the Sitār are the same as those of the Vīna but there are considerable differences in construction. It is a much smaller instrument. Like the Vīna, it has a belly made of jack or some other resonant wood, but there is no curved neck and no *gourd*.... The number of strings is usually seven. The frets vary from sixteen to eighteen in number for an *octave and a half on each string*. The Carnātic Sitār is somewhat different. It has a much thinner and shorter neck and is shaped something like a Tambūr. *Only the first two strings pass over the frets about half an inch wide and raised from the finger-board. These two strings are placed much nearer together than the other strings.* Usually there are about fourteen frets, which are placed at the intervals of the diatonic scale.

“The tuning of the strings in the ordinary (North Indian) Sitār is usually as follows, beginning from the shortest string attached to the side, e.g.,

Sa Sa Pa Pa Sa Sa Ma (C C G G C C F)

“The last string is the one usually played on, though *expert players will use the last three.*

The Carnatic Sitār runs thus :

Sa Pa Sa Pa Sa Sa Sa (C G C G C C C)

“The Sitār lends itself well to the performance of Indian Music and is becoming more popular among the people generally.

“The invention of the Sitār is commonly credited to the famous singer Amīr Khusraw of the court of Sultan ‘Alā’ud-Dīn in the fourteenth century. It is probably of Persian origin”.

A decade earlier than Popley, appeared the Music Gazette of India. In its issues of October and November 1910 and January 1911, Sitār is found drawn and also described, showing it with an in-built bowl, without gourd and with frets. The number of strings vary from 3 to 5—the main strings, however, remaining at 3. Ustād Akram Imām Khān in his *Ma’dan*, written still earlier, talks about Sāda Sitār of his days (post 1857). It had, the Ustād says, “imbibed some of the characteristics of Bīn but prefers to rely on *its own three strings*. Of these one is of steel and two of brass.... The other Sitār, ‘ekahri tonbi wālā’, puts on six strings, which are :

- (i) Bāj kā tār (also called Chutkī kā tār)—of steel;
- (ii) & (iii) Kharaj kī joda—both of brass;

- (iv) Pancham—of steel;
- (v) Ganda tār—of brass;
- (vi) Chikārī, adjacent to no. v,—of steel.

“The main strings are *only three*, tuned as Maddham, Kharaj and Pancham; the other three are: one of the Joda (of Kharaj), one Ganda (meaning thick and slow), and one Chikārī (lit. ‘worthless,’ i.e., not in usual play). Of the three octaves played, only the middle one is complete, as the first commences on the Madhyam of the Mandra Sthāna and the third ascends only upto Gandhāra of the Tāra Saptaka....

“Zakhma (زخمه) or Mizrāb (مضرب) worn in right hand produces the sound ड (DA) ढ (DA) and डर (DAR). With the left hand only डंव (Dānv), called Meend in Sitār-playing, is produced. Of these ड and डर are *āne kī harkat* (movement in descent) and ढ is *jāne kī harkat* (movement in ascent). डंव is produced by the middle finger of the left hand. All other *harkats* are based on these four....”

Going further into the technique is not called for. But some aspects of it as linked with the better ascertained history of the instrument in the eighteenth century and further on, may be taken notice of.

Sitār, during the days Delhi culture is decentralised, finds an exponent in Ustād Amrit Sen, one of the illustrious descendants of the great Tānsen. In the post 1748 period, he migrated to Jaipur. According to O. Gosvami, “This master introduced three extra wires, thus raising the number of wires to six. He changed the system of tuning, too. The first wire known as Nāyakī or Aggal is of steel and is tuned to F (Madhyam) and the other two strings which are of brass came to be known as Jodī (pair) and are tuned to C and F (*Sa* and *Ma*) respectively. The fourth wire which is also of brass and is a bit thicker than the other wires is tuned to G (*Pancham*) of the middle Octave and thus the fourth and fifth wires have come to be known as the pair of ‘fifths’. The sixth wire is of steel and is tuned to C (*Kharaj*) of the higher Octave and is known as Chikārī which is used for *jhālā*. The first four wires are used for *Alāp* and all the notes up to *Ati-mandra* (Bam). Octave can be produced on them by deflection. Most of the *Gat-tora* or the *rhythmic-rāga-score* is played on the first Nāyakī wire. Later another wire has come to be added, thus making them seven in all; of course this seventh is also for *chikārī* which helps the *jhālā* to be played louder.”

To complete the picture a word about the 'tonal' aesthetics : "... The jingling of the *fifth string* of the Sitār, called Laraz, and made for this very purpose of twisted brass, and most of all the *nasal tone of voice*, which is deliberately cultivated for singing" is as well a basic factor which should help in determining the past history of the instrument. Similarly helpful is the fact that "the drone strings of the Vīnā (Bīn) and Sitār or the Sur-bahār, a large sitar common in Bengal, often have amongst them one tuned to Ma, and there is curiously no objection to the Pa and Ma sounding together."¹⁰

This facilitates first hand understanding of the terms *alāp*, *joda*, *jhāla* and *gat* in relation to Sitār. This also establishes its link with the Arabic **قيطاره** putting on in the West the fourth wire as in India and then pairing (Jodī) the strings to make them eight. In this connection, a Latin manuscript dated 1496-97, although it tells only about the art of playing the Arabic **قيطاره** is worth studying in depth. It helps understanding the instrument as it shaped itself in the then Maghrib and Mashriq—the latter also including India. For instance, it lays down "that every *note* which may be without a position for any of the *fingers* in the *frets* is *alif* in their (Moor's) letters, which sounds 'A' in ours." That is, the 'open string' has been *alif*—same as *dhaivata* (ध) of ours. Further on, the manuscript reads : "The first fret after *alif* in the instrument itself is a semitone. The second fret answers *alif* by a tone. The third fret... answers *alif* with a *tone* and *semitone*. The fourth fret ought to correspond to *alif* by two tones. The fifth... by two tones with semitone... The sixth fret is distant from *alif* by three tones. The seventh fret answers *alif* by three tones with one semitone...."¹¹

The semitones, diatonically arrived at as above, with their base at *dhaivata* (*alif*) may easily be recognised as the *dvāzdah pardah* arrangement of *sarūd-i pārsi* in India. It must have gained popular prevalence earlier to have been asserted by Amīr Khusraw as one of the fundamentals. Remember his saying as much in his *Rasā'il*.¹² Also verify all this by the three stringed Bīn with twelve clearly marked frets of the times of Akbar and Jehāngīr. And then confirm the same through the emergence of a full-grown Sitār and its various indigenous varieties sometimes in the latter half of the 18th century. Thenceforward, Sitār in India supercedes every other member of its family, till it has now come to symbolise all that is classical, lyrical or romantic about Indian Music.

Notes and References :

1. *Al-Mas'ūdi*, vol. II p. 320, for a general discussion on the cultural contacts in the first period between Ancient Greeks, the Byzantium and the propagation of music as a noble science:

Byzantine Art, by Peirce and Tyler (p. 11), that Syrian, Arabian and Persian elements had already affected the development of Byzantine art in general.

Also see Taylor: *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*, p. 340;

Emil Nauman: *History of World Music*, i, 228;

Gibbon: *Decline and Fall* (Ed. Bury), vi, 103; and *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, by Bury, ii, 366, also *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, 434; and *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, 130-31, for the in-take of Iranian by the Hellenistic culture during the days of Khusraw I or Nushirwan (d. 578) and his setting up of an Academy of sciences at Jundeshapur in Khuzistan.

Also, there is the testimony of the Sasanid Art which clearly delineates a stringed instrument somewhat of the type of Sitār; cf. Dalton: *Treasures of the Oxus*, 190; and *Iqd al-Farīd*, iii, 181.

For Kacchapi and Citra Vīnas, respectively, see Sarangadeva's *Sangīta Ratnākāra* and the *Nāṭya Sāstra* (III, vi, 7-10, 111, 165-66, and xxix, 120, as well as, xxxiii, 15)

2. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1928, for the introduction of Perso-Arab musical instruments in Western Europe through Spain.

La Musique Arabe, by Francisco Daniel Salvador—with the notes and comments of Dr. H. G. Farmer in his *Music and Musical Instruments of the Arabs*, pp. 120-122, and 239-40, for the Greco-Roman and Arabo-Spanish forms of the instrument; Dr. Hartense Panum, *Stringed Instruments of the Middle Ages*, ed. by Pulver, (London, 1927) for the Spartan Kitara.

3. Mīrkhwānd, *Raudatus-Safā*, I, ii, 357, about the colonisation of about 10,000 Lūjīs from India and about their popularising the gipsy Schetra; the Persian Sitār as part of gipsy music via Chaldaea, also see Dr. Farmer's comments on the French writer Salvador's '*La Musique Arabe*', p. 240.

4. Nizāmī of Ganja in his "*Mathnawī Khusraw-Shīrīn*" writes :

ستای باربد دستان همی زد به هشیاری ره مستان همی زد
 نکپسا چون زد این افسانه بر چنگ ستای باربد برداشت آهنگ
 ستای باربد آواز می داد سماع ارغنون را ساز می داد
 نکپسا چون زششش آتش برانگیخت ستای باربد آه پرو ریخت

نکیسا نام ، مروی بود چنگی ندیم خاص خسرو پیر زنگی
 کزو خوشگو تری در لحن آواز ندید این کوثر پشت ارغنون ساز
 زرود آواز موزون او برآورد غنا را رسم نقطیع او بر آورد

Khusraw in his Mathnavi, "*Tughlaq-nāma*", says:

ازین سو بنده خسرو باندریمان سخن می گفت ز اوصاف کریمان
 وزان جانب محمد شاه تر دست همی کرد از نوازش عقل را مست
 دران مجلس که دل از دست می رفت گر آمد هوشیای مست می رفت

5. *Ā'in-i-Akbari* (AMU, Sulaiman Collection, 634/14, Shefta 9/123; and the University Collection, No. 14, فارسی اخبار for the description of Bīn and Jantar; for the Turkish Kītāra of the 7th century, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, pp. 21-24; alongwith *Rāga Darpan* (Persian) of Faqīrullah, AMU, MS. (Lytton) No. 41 (فارسیه علوم) ff. 58-59; *Kulliyāt-i Tughrā* by Mulla Tughra (AMU, MS. Jawāhar Museum, No. 458), and also *Latā'if-i Ashrafī* of Haji Yamani (AMU, MS. Subhanullah Collection, vide Acc. No. 297. 7/8).

The two portraits of the Vīnā-players have been reproduced in the book *Music of Hindustan*; see Plates 7 and 9, facing pages 78 and 83.

- 6 All these facts are from Captain C. R. Day's *The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India and the Deccan*, London, 1891; also from the treatise *La Musique Arabe*, by Francisco Daniel Salvador.
- 7 The treatise *On the Music of India* by Captain N. Augustus Willard was first published in book form in 1834. The Captain had stayed for quite some time with Nawāb Ali Bahādur of Banda and studied at first hand the practised art of the time. He may rightly be considered as one of the pioneer students of later Medieval Music. He calls Sitar "a modern instrument", and also says that it "was invented by Amīr Khusraw of Delhi." The two statements are compatible only when the first is taken to refer to an event of fact and the other to a tradition.

The manuscript of the Persian book *Naghamātul-'Ajā'ib* is in the private collection of Janab A.A. Tirmizi, of National Archives of India, New Delhi. It could be examined through his kind courtesy. The present copy is dated 1247/1831. The text may be believed to relate to the latter half of the 18th century.

8. Sitār is dealt with on pages 105 to 107 of Rev. Herbert A. Popley's *Music of India*. He has reported about the art as he found it, and about the musical instruments as they were handled by the leading virtuosi of his time.
9. *Music Gazette of India*. Its issues for October 1910 to July 1911 form No. 46708 of the Kashmir University Library, Srinagar.
Ma'danul-Musiqi by Ustad Akram Imām Khān of Sandila in Avadh, elaborates on the theory, procedure and aesthetic norms in particular, set up by Lucknow Gāyaki of Wājid 'Alī Shāh's time.
10. Reference is to *The Story of Music*, written at the behest of late Romain Rolland by O. Gosvami.
11. The Latin MS., in the Capucin convent of Gerona, quotes the "system of an anonymous Moor" obviously of the kingdom of Granada which ceased in 1492. A clue was provided by Fr. Jayme Villanueva as regards the Arabian influence found discussed therein. The text has been translated and interpreted by Dr. H.G. Farmer in his *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, at pp. 97 to 101. By "Arabian Influence" he means the "Oriental Influence", "much of which was Persian, and not a negligible amount Arabian."
12. *Rasā'il* or *Rasā'ilul-I'jāz*, the IIIrd Harf in IXth Khatt of which is the only exposition of Music as professed and practised during the days of Amīr Khusraw. Specific reference here is to his words :

از علم اصول اصول منحصر پر چهار و پرده بردوازده و ابریشم
برشش ، وما بقی فروعی است " (ص ۲۸۷) .

Iranian Poets and Writers Who Visited Bihar

Prof. Syed Hasan

Muhammad Bakhtiyār Khalji conquered Bihar in 1191 A.D. and called the land *Vihār* on account of the presence of a large number of monasteries which were the seats of learning. From this time onwards Bihar along with Bengal was governed by Muslims and formed a province under the Delhi Sultanate.

The governors of Bihar during the Turko-Afghan period were mostly of Turkish origin. Though the early Muslim settlers in the western part of India were Persians, we have no knowledge of any Iranian who visited Bihar during this period. The first Iranian who appears to have some connection with Bihar was Nijābat Khan, son of Hāshim Khan of Nishapur. According to Mulla Taqia, an important personality of the 16th century, who has been mentioned in *Tuzuk-i Jahāngiri*, Hāshim Khan Nishapuri had received a *Jāgīr* in Bihar and the Mulla had come to this place to consult the documents on behalf of Nijābat Khan. But there is no information as to when and by whom the *Jāgīr* was granted to Hāshim Khan.

It was during the Mughal rule that the link between the two great countries, India and Iran, began to grow stronger day by day. Babur made friendship with the Safavid king Shāh Ismā'īl in order to defeat their common enemy, the Uzbeks of Transoxiana. But the bonds of relationship developed faster and firmer after the flight of Humayun to Iran and his refuge and royal reception in that country during the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp Safavi. It is a well-known fact of history that the Iranian monarch helped Humayun to recapture his lost kingdom. Henceforth diplomatic and cultural contacts between India and Iran became more friendly and frequent, and a stream of Iranian travellers, visitors, and migrators began to flow from Iran to India. This stream grew greater in volume during the peaceful reigns of Humayun's successors whose fame as patrons of art and literature spread to Iran.

As the Iranians became more and more acquainted with India they began to include Bihar also in their itinerary and visited the province for the sake of gaining fuller knowledge of the country. Some of these visitors grew so much enamoured of the land that they prolonged their stay and took u

some employment under the government to earn their livelihood. One such Iranian visitor was Mulla 'Abdun-Nabi Fakhruzzamāni, who came to Bihar in 1027 A.H./1617-18 A.D. He was originally an inhabitant of Qazvin. At the age of 19 he went on a pilgrimage to Mashhad where he heard the praises of India from some of the Indian pilgrims, which gave rise in him to a desire to visit this land. Towards the close of the year, 1017 A.H./1609 A.D. he set out for his trip to India and arrived at Lahore and after a brief sojourn there he reached Agra, the Mughal capital, where he became a librarian of Mīrza Amānullāh, son of Mahābat Khan. But he gave up this service on account of some illness and returned to Lahore in 1025 A.H./1616 A.D. Thence he went to Kashmir and afterwards to Mandu where his countryman Mirza Nizāmi was employed in imperial service. On his being appointed the Dīwān of Bihar, Mirza Nizāmi shifted to this province in 1027 A.H./1617-18 A.D. Mulla 'Abdun-Nabi also accompanied him. In Bihar 'Abdun-Nabi entered the service of Sardār Khan Khwāja Yādgār, the brother of 'Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang. Sardār Khan held 'Abdun-Nabi in high esteem and showered so much favours on him that 'Abdun-Nabi dedicated his celebrated book *Maikhāna* to him. This work was compiled during his stay at Patna. But it so happened that his house at Patna was destroyed by fire and some of the manuscript of this work was also burnt. Being very much afflicted with this loss he left Patna and returned to Agra in 1029 A.H./1619-20 A.D. He now yearned for his mother land, but there is no information whether he did go back to Iran. He was, however, living till 1041 A.H./1631-32 A.D.

Close upon the heels of Mulla 'Abdun-Nabi came another Iranian to Patna. He was Muhammad Sādiq Isfahāni, a historian and the author of *Subh-i Sādiq*. By this time Jahāngīr's favourite son, Prince Parvez, had become the governor of Bihar. During the period of his governorship Patna had become the rendezvous of poets, artists and scholars most of whom came from Iran. One of the chief officers of Prince Parvez was Muhammad Sālih of Isfahan who was appointed *Dīwān-i-Khālisa* in 1029 A.H./1620 A.D. with headquarters at Patna. His son Muhammad Sādiq was born in 1018 A.H./1609-10 A.D. at Surat, while Muhammad Sālih was there in the service of 'Abdur-Rahīm Khān-i Khānān. Muhammad Sādiq was with his father in Patna. He lived in this city for about four years. During the wars between Prince Parvez and his brother Prince Khurram, Sādiq was with his father, who fought on the side of Prince Parvez in 1036 A.H./1626 A.D. Muhammad Sālih gave up service and went to Burhānpur. Muhammad Sādiq was appointed a Chronicler in the military camp of the Emperor Jahāngīr. After visiting several towns, he went to Agra when Prince Khurram ascended the throne as Shāh Jahān on the death of Jahāngīr in 1037 A.H. Muhammad Sādiq again came to Patna to look after his property. He liked the place so much that composed verses in its praise ;

ساکنانش ز شهر دلکش تر
اندرو جز غم و الم همه چیز
شهر از او بهار خانه گنگ
یار در خانه، خانه در گلشن
جان در آئینه رخس پیدا
پرده شب کشیده بر رخ روز
خانه از دست او نگارستان
جان سپردم چو لعل شیرینش
در خم زلف منزل دل من

شهری از روی دلبران خوشتر
دلبرانیش همه وفا انگیز
در شمالیش رودخانه گنگ
بر لب آب بود خانه من
دلبری دلگشای چهره گشا
قلم موی آن جهان افروز
شهر از روی او بهارستان
بود مهر و وفا قوانینش
در دل خویش ساخت منزل من

Sometimes afterwards he started for Bengal in the company of Amīr Qāsim Khan who was appointed the Military Commander in Bengal. Sādiq describes this event in the following verses :

از جلوس مبارک اول سال
ملک بنگاله را سپه سالار
خاک از حلم او گران بودی
ملک از اخترش گرانمایه
خدمتش برگزیدم از دل و جان
بست از گرد گرد مه هاله

روز آدینه از مه شوال
شد بفرمان شاه گیتی دار
آنکه بختش بر آسمان بودی
قدر او را زمانه در سایه
چون به پتنه رسید رأیت خان
موکب خان بعزم بنگاله

On the way he stopped at Rājmaḥal (Akbar Nagar). He has composed verses in praise of this place also:

از ربیع دوم دوده رفته
برسیدم بملک بنگاله
چرخ از آسیب موجه اش گردان
هر دهی همچو کشتی بر آب
در علف زار جای مردم او
نه زبانان و نه زبان آور

ازمه آذر اولین هفته
بادلی صد هزار پرکاله
خاک دیدم از آب گشته نهان
بنمودی ز کثرت سیلاب
از علف خانه های مردم او
سر بسر چاره ساز و حیلت گر

He then went to Jahāngīr Nagar, modern Dacca. His father died in 1043 A.H./1633-34 A.D. On account of some arrears of royal revenue due from his father he was held responsible and was about to be imprisoned, but on the intercession of Mīr Quli Hamadāni, the royal accountant, he was saved from humiliation. When Islām Khan Meshhadi was appointed the governor of Bengal by Emperor Shāh Jahān, Muhammad Sādiq was sent with an army to Assam to quell the revolt of the *Zamindars* of that province. He reached Dhubri with great difficulty and stayed there for four years. It was a period of great distress for him. Often he wandered in the forests and valleys of this mountaineous region. In the meantime rainy season commenced and the army became immobilised. Sādiq went back to Jahāngīr Nagar. Due to the backbiting of his enemies Islām Khan became displeased with him and ordered him to go to Salīmābād. Though he prayed to be forgiven and even preferred to go to the prison nothing availed and he had to comply with the order. This made him very sick and disgusted with life.

Sādiq's monumental work *Subh-i Sādiq* is a book of general history upto his own days. It consists of four volumes, all unprinted so far. In the 12th section of the 3rd volume he has given an account of himself and also of a host of persons who are either his friends or acquaintances and whom he had seen and talked to. Some of these persons were Iranians and had visited Patna. Among them were the following notable personages ;

1. Mīrza Muhammad Husain Sīrati Ghaffāri of Qazvin. He was a calligraphist and had taken up service under Prince Parvez. After the death of the Prince he went to Bengal but came back to Patna and went to Lahore with the intention to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

2. Another important Iranian visitor to Patna was the poet Hakīm 'Ārif Ījī. He came to India with Mulla Abdun-Nabi, who in his *Maikhāna* has given an account of 'Ārif's life related by the Hakīm himself. It would be futile to repeat it here. It will be sufficient to mention that he possessed a Bohemian spirit which made him wander nither and naither for the most part of his life. In the end he prayed to Emperor Jahāngīr for the grant of some property as a permanent means of his life. The Emperor granted five *bighas* of cultivable land in Bihar. 'Ārif ultimately settled in Bihar in 1035 A.H./1625-26 A.D.

Sādiq met him at Patna. He praises his poetical skill but is critical of his religious beliefs.

3. Maulana Nadīm Gilānī visited Patna during the days that Sādiq resided there. Mulla 'Abdun-Nabi has given an account of Nadīm's life in *Maikhāna* which needs no repetition here. But there appears to be some error in fixing

date of his death. 'Abdun-Nabi says that when he met Nadīm in Kashmir in 1020 A.H. the latter was 30 years of age. From this statement it is evident he was born about 990 A.H. Nasrābādī states that Nadīm died in 1011 A.H. at the age of 70. This date is not correct because Nadīm had written an elegy on the death of his teacher Nazīri Nishapuri which occurred in 1023 A.H. If we believe Nasrābādī that Maulana Nadīm Gīlāni lived upto the age of 70 his death must have occurred in about 1060 A.H. Maulana Nadīm Gīlāni visited Patna while on his way back to Iran from Bengal.

4. The compiler of 'Urfī Shirazī's *Dīwān*, Sirāji, better known as Sirāja-i Isfahāni, had also visited Patna during the stay of Muhammad Sādiq. Sirāji's full name was Mīrza Qāsim Imām. According to Sādiq, Sirāji was also adept in music. Sādiq speaks of Sirāji's illness but does not give the year of his death.

5. Another Iranian visitor to Patna during the time of Sādiq was Mir Yahyā, son of Mīr Hāshim Mūsavi of Qum. He belonged to a Syed family of 'Iraq-i 'Ajam and had come to India during the reign of Emperor Akbar. For some years he lived in the Deccan. Emperor Jahāngīr had appointed him a Dīwān and Bakhshi in Orissa. On being dismissed from this service after a few years he arrived in Patna and thence he went to Agra where again he got an assignment as the Bakhshi of Kabul. His death took place at that place.

6. Muhammad Sādiq had the occasion to meet in Patna an Iranian named Bāquīa who was a talented artist and expert musician. Bāquīa was in the service of Prince Parvez but when the Prince's fortune declined he left the service and went to Benaras. When Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān) came to Patna, Bāquīa returned to Patna and received the Prince's favours. When Shāh Jahān ascended the throne Bāquīa went to Delhi and was honoured by the Emperor. Towards the end of his life he returned to Iran on his way to Mecca for pilgrimage.

7. Another Iranian calligraphist who was at Patna during the mid eleventh century of Muslim era, was Muhammad Yahyā Jāmi. He was a descendant of the great Iranian saint Shaikhul-Islam Ahmad Zhandā Fīl of Jām. Sādiq speaks highly of Yahyā Jāmi's art of calligraphy, but he is not mentioned in *Tazkira-i Khush Navīsān* compiled by Agha Mahdi Bayāni and published by the Tehran University. Yahyā Jāmi, however, had become an ascetic and died at Patna.

The reign of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr marked the beginning of the downfall of the Mughal rule in India. The country was torn by rebellions, revolts and interracial warfares. The condition of the country had commenced to become unsettled. Even in such times Iranians continued to come to India

for sight-seeing and seeking fortunes. One such person was *Mirza Mūsavi Khan* pen-named *Fitrat*. He came from *Mashhad* and in India he married the sister of Emperor *Aurangzeb*'s wife. On account of this high connection he was appointed the *Dīwān* of Bihar under *Buzurg Ummīd Khan*, the then governor of Bihar (1094-98 A.H./1683-86 A.D.). As *Fitrat* was a good poet of Persian he contributed to the development of literary atmosphere of Patna. But he could not pull on well with the governor and had to leave Bihar after a short time. He was then sent to the Deccan to occupy another important office. His death occurred in 1101 A.H.

8. In 1703 A. D. Prince 'Azīmush - Shān was made the governor of Bihar. He was the second Mughal prince to hold this important office in Bihar. The prince was a patron of art and literature. His court at Patna, which was now named 'Azīmābād after the Prince's name, became a heaven for scholars. It was during his period of governorship that an eminent Iranian poet and scholar visited Patna. He was *Mulla Muhammad Sa'īd* pennamed *Ashraf*, son of *Mulla Muhammad Sālih* of *Māzandrān* and the grandson of *Mulla Muhammad Taqi Majlisi*, the reputed scholar and theologian of Iran. *Mulla Sa'īd Ashraf* was born at *Isfahan* in about 1036 A. H. He came to India in the company of his uncle *Mulla 'Azīzullāh* on the occasion of the coronation ceremony of Emperor *Aurangzeb* in 1068 A.H. *Aurangzeb* appointed *Ashraf* as the tutor of his daughter *Zebun-Nisa Begum*. After some years of stay in India, *Mulla Ashraf* returned to his native country. But he paid a second visit to India in 1098 A.H. This time he came to Patna also and became attached to the Court of Prince 'Azīmush-Shān. The Prince held him in great respect and in consideration of *Ashraf*'s old age and infirmity had allowed him to sit with ease in his presence. After few years *Mulla Sa'īd Ashraf* set out for Bengal on his way to Mecca for pilgrimage. But he died on the way at *Monghyr* in 1116 A.H. According to some biographers his tomb was built inside the *Monghyr* fort but now no trace of it is to be found.

Another important visitor to Patna who came from Iran was the celebrated poet *Shaikh 'Ali Hazīn* of *Lāhijān*. He was born in 1103 A.H. at *Isfahan* and resided there till the age of 32 when his town was attacked by *Mahmūd Khan Afghan*. It was followed by mass slaughter and plunder and pillage which completely upset *Hazīn* and left his hearth and home for a life of ceaseless wanderings. Ultimately he migrated to India to take refuge here. But his misfortune followed him. He could not enjoy peace due to the jealousy of his acquaintances. He stayed in *Delhi* upto 1154 A.H. Then he set out for Bengal with the intention to go to Mecca. At the time he reached Bihar he had become weak and emaciated due to bad health so, he could not proceed further. He halted at Patna for a few years. From here

he paid visit to Benaras which he liked very much and decided to stay there. His death took place in 1181 A.H.

The last Iranian visitor to Patna in my list is the famous traveller Agha Ahmad Bihbahāni, who was the grandson of the reputed Persian scholar Agha Bāqar Isfahāni Bihbahāni. Ahmad Bihbahāni was born in 1191 A.H. at Kirmānshah. At the age of 20 he set out from Mashhed on a tour of India and other countries. In the course of his journey he came to Bengal and was the guest of Bahu Begum, the wife of Sirājud-Daulah, the Nawwab of Bengal. After spending some years at Murshidabad he felt the urge to visit 'Azīmābād and started on his journey in 1224 A.H. He travelled by a boat up the Ganga. In his way he made halts at Rājmahal, Bhāgalpur and Monghyr. In Monghyr he saw the hot springs at Sitākund. He reached Patna in the month of Ziqāda 1224 A.H. and was received by his friends and acquaintances. He went round the city and saw ancient buildings among which was the Madrasa of Saif Khan built by the side of the river Ganga. He was so much struck with the beauty of the town that he called it *Jannatul-Hind* (the Heaven of India). Bihbahāni also visited Sasaram and saw the tomb of Sher Shah of which he gives a detailed description with the historical background in his book of travels *Mir'āti-Ahwāl-i Jahān Numa*. He wrote this book while at Patna during the years 1224-25 A.H./1809-10 A.D.

I am going to conclude this paper with mentioning that numerous Iranian visitors come to see Bihar and Patna in recent years, when Patna has now double attraction. Besides the ancient monuments that lie scattered in Bihar the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library has drawn lovers of art and learning from near and distant places. The Library is a store house of priceless treasure, precious paintings and valuable rare manuscripts of Arabic and Persian languages.

Golkonda and Iran—Linguistic Contacts

Prof. H. K. Sherwani

Origins

Ever since the break with Dehli in 1347 A.D. the Deccan had been in constant contact with Iran, 'Iraq and the surrounding lands, and the newcomers from these countries formed a considerable and influential section of the ruling elite. The story of the Bahmani rule over the Deccan, lasting more than two hundred years, is the story of constant clashes between these *āsfāqīs* and the so-called *dakhnīs*, the baton of government passing alternately from one to the other. But strangely, we do not come across any such clashes during the rule of the Qutb Shāhis, and the whole period, lasting more than two centuries, was free from internal turmoil and peace prevailed between the *dakhnīs*, *āsfāqīs*, Muslims and Hindus.

The Qutb Shāhi State extended its limits to include the whole of the Andhra region and more, from the confines of Orissa right up to St. Thomas Mount, south of Madras, with a northern bulge bringing in Bastar and a large western bulge touching Kohir, 'Alampur and Gooty. The State had its first capital at the eminence of Golkonda which was shifted in 1000/1591-92 to the newly built town of Haidarabad situated on the Mūsi, a tributary of the Krishna.¹

The Qutb Shāhi dynasty was ethnically Turkish, hailing from the Turkish tribe of Bahārlu, but it had a strong cultural background located in Iran. The progenitors of the dynasty belonged to the Turkish tribe of Qara-quyunlū which had Black Sheep as its emblem, and they were at daggers drawn with the Aq-quyunlū who had White Sheep as their emblem. One of their ancestors, Qara Muhammad, ruled over the Iranian province of Azarbaijan and Armenia. The great hurdle in his way was the conqueror Timur, and with his death in 1405 Qara Muhammad's son Qara Yūsuf was able not only to regain his lost patrimony, but to annex Isfahan, Hamadan and Qazvin as well. He died in 1420 and left his large Iranian dominions to his son Amīr Iskandar, who added Fars, Kirman and Khurasan and thus became an Iranian potentate par excellence.²

Iskandar's death in 1438 marks the end of the rule of the Qara-quyunlū, for they were dispossessed and nearly all of them done to death by their cousins the Āq-quyunlū. One of the few surviving members of the tribe, Uwais-Quli, considered it advisable to send his young son, Sultan-Quli, a lad of about 20, away from Iran under the guardianship of his brother, Allāh-Quli. The uncle and the nephew wended their way to the Bahmani capital, Muhammadabad-Bīdar, where the Bahmani ruler Shamsud-Dīn Muhammad III, surnamed Lashkari, held sway.⁴

General Trends

Sultan Quli's phenomenal rise from a non-descript Newcomer to be the premier nobleman of the Bahmani Kingdom, then to the governorship of the Bahmani province centered in Golkonda, and finally to the rulership of a vast territory touching the coast line of what was later known as the Golkonda Coast, reads like a romance. He was, however, more a general and an administrator than a patron of letters and we have no data of his having actually patronised Persian learning. The official language of the new State was Persian and remained so right through its existence. His primary effort was to bring the whole Telugu-speaking territory under one sceptre and, in a way, to make Persian its official language parallel to the mother tongue of the generality. Sultan Quli was granted the title of Qutbul-Mulk by the Bahmani Sultan, a title which was changed into Qutb Shāh by the fourth ruler, Ibrāhīm (1550-1580). Although the reign of Jamshīd (1543-1550) was stormy and he was dubbed a patricide by his contemporaries, his reign saw the beginnings of Persian poetry in the Deccan which later included all manners of Persian composition, *qasidah*, *ghazal*, religious and amorous poetry, and *marthiya*. In the realm of prose we have medical books, works on weight and measures, philosophy, *Tasawwuf*, and imaginary tales and authentic historical works. The impact of Persian learning on the general life of the people was such that the story of the Prophet's daughter, Fātima, crept unconsciously into Telugu folk-lore and is still sung by the non-Muslim tillers of the soil with the high and low pitch regulated by the movement of the plough.

In architecture the Indo-Persian arch, stilted or non-stilted, cusped or plain, found its way from Golkonda to Vijayanagar, thence to Penukonda and Chandragiri and to Tanjavur in the far South, where it still beckons the visitor towards its origin in Iran.

Jamshīd

The few lines from the pen of Jamshīd which have come down to us are not of a very high order, and nearly all of them are addressed to an imaginary beloved. Some of them may well be cited here:

اے بتو ختم ملک زیبائی
 کار عشق از تو یافت بالائی
 کاکل و چین زلف و خال لب
 هر یکے در کمال رعنائی
 در ره عشق هر که پابنهاد
 آخر او سرکشد برسوائی
 آفتاب از رخ تو شرمنده
 ابر کرداست پرده آرائی
 من بدیوانگی شدم مشهور
 تو بخوبی و عالم آرائی
 خاکپای ترا من مسکین
 سرمه سازم به عین بینائی
 تو همان آفتاب بی همتا
 من همان عاشق تماشائی

بی لب لعل بتان باده حرام است مرا
 لب میگون بنما چون سر جام است مرا
 به سر کاکل تو مرغ دلم بند شد است
 خال تو دانه آن زلف چودام است مرا
 ترک این کار نخواهم من بیدل کردن
 من که جمشیدم و این کار تمام است مرا

زندگی بی تو حرام است نمی خواهم عمر
 گر چنین می گذرد باقی عمر گذران
 خبر از درد ندارند بتان ای جمشید
 آه ازین بیخبران ، آه ازین بیخبران

بار جفای جز تو نگاری نمی کشم
غیر از جفا و جور تو باری نمی کشم⁵

As will be noted, Jamshīd's poetry is not of a very high order, but if circumstances had been more propitious he would have become the centre of a more fruitful school of Persian poetry.

Ibrāhīm

Jamshīd's brother Ibrāhīm had sought asylum in Vijayanagar from the wrath of his unkind brother, and was there for seven long years of his impressionable age from 1543 to 1550. While there he had imbibed a love for Telugu language and learning and it is related that he had even married a Telugu girl named Bhagirati. It was only on Jamshīd's death that he was called back to Golkonda. When Ibrāhīm reached Kovilkonda he was received by the *kārkuns*, officers, *naikwaris*, blacksmiths, well-diggers, guards and other Hindus and Muslims of the locality. Ibrāhīm's progress from Kovilkonda to Golkonda was one of triumphal march.⁶ It is related that the people, enroute, Hindus and Muslims, showed their enthusiasm by reciting and singing certain lines in Persian and Telugu, two of the Persian lines of which may be quoted here :

ببرج شرف آفتاب آمده
به خشکیده جوبار آب آمده
ز بهر رمه سرشبان آمده
ز بهر همه پاسبان آمده⁷

In spite of his obvious leaning towards Telugu learning it was only natural that he should also patronise those who composed poetry and wrote books in his mother-tongue, Persian. In his reign were laid the foundation of the works on history which bore abundant fruit in later years. One of the historical works which were dedicated to him was Khurshāh b. Qubād al-Husaini's voluminous *Tārīkh-i Ilchi-i Nizām Shāh*.⁸ It is a history of the world stressing the history of pre-Islamic and Islamic Iran, the Sultans who held sway in Bengal, Malwa, Gujarat and the Deccan, including the Bahmani Sultans down to the reign of Mahmūd Shāh upto 1518.

Likewise, Mulla Husain Tibsi's book the *Marghūbul-Qulūb* is to be noted. The Mulla began writing a history of the dynasty in the time of its founder, Sultan-Quli, and lived on to the reign of Ibrāhīm.⁹

There is another short prose work by Mulla Husain, the *Saidīyah* or the Book of the Game written under the orders of Ibrāhīm himself in 1575-76, and it deals with all aspects of the game and the limits set on it by Muslim law.¹⁰

A book of considerable value which is again dedicated to Ibrāhīm and which contains, among other pieces, odes and qasīdas in honour of Ibrāhīm and other notable figures in the Deccan is Hāji Abarqūh's *Diwān*. It contains a description of the capital of the Qutb Shāhi Kingdom in the time of Ibrāhīm and a virtual picture of the State and of those who held sway in it. Although Hāji is the *takhallus* of the poet and Abarqūh his native town, his full name is nowhere mentioned in the *Diwān*.¹¹ This is strange as many of the poems are of a high order and any poet of the genre may have been proud of his work. The following pieces may be fruitfully cited :

In short lines he describes his progress from the port of Dabul (Dabhol) to the Kingdom of Tilang :

ابتدای سخنم توحید است . . .
بعد ازان نعت رسول مدنی . . .
پس ازان منقبت شیر خدا . . .
سر گذشت من پیدل اینست . . .
رفتن از ملک جرون جانب هند . . .
رفتن از بندر دابل بتلنگ . . .

From Dabul he went straight to Golkonda where Ibrāhīm was reigning :

وجه گلکنده نمودار بهشت
گلرخانش همگی حور سرشت
پادشاهش چو سکندر ذوجاه
صاحب مملکت و خیل و سپاه

He is all praise for Ibrāhīm :

شدم آن شاه چو کرد آوازم
ساز در مجلس اوشد سازم
چند بیتی که مرا بود دران

کردم از مدح شهنشاه بیان
 میر رسیدند همه چون بسخن
 سخنی چند شنیدند از من
 در دم آن پادشه نیک میر
 داد از لطف بمن خلعت و زر
 شد مقرر که همه روز ز راه
 روم از سر بسوی مجلس شاه

He describes vividly the night scene at Golkonda thus:

شده گلکنده روشن از مشاعل
 بسان روز در شهبای دیجور
 چراغان هر طرف افکنده پرتو
 در و دیوار او گردیده پرنور
 بدور خسرو شیرین شمایل
 شد این معموره از هر باب معمور
 عماراتش بگردون سر کشیده
 زباغاتش جهانی پر ز انگور

It was during Ibrāhīm's reign that the fashion of writing dynastic histories in Persian verse was started. Except for the so-called *Khamṣa-i Qutb Shāhi* they are all voluminous tomes, some illustrated, others with blank spaces left for future insertions. They are *Nisbat Nāma-i Shahryārī*, *Nasab Nāma -i-Qutb Shāhi*, *Tawārīkh-i-Qutb Shāhi* and *Khamṣa-Qutb Shāhi*.¹² At least one, the *Nisbat Nāma-i Shahryārī* is ascribed to Hiralal Khushdil, secretary to Prince Haidar Khan, one of the sons of the founder of dynasty, showing that Persian learning had already permeated into the ranks of the Hindu society. These versified histories in Persian set the fashion of writing down histories in prose.

Muhammad-Quli

We now pass on to the reign of Ibrāhīm's son Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1611-12). Muhammad-Quli was an artist by nature and was adept in poetry, both Persian and Dakhni, town-planning and

architecture, and his reign may be said to be a landmark in many aspects of the life of the State. He was not merely a poet in Persian but encouraged Persian poets, literateurs, men of religion and others to make his new capital Haidarabad their home. His chief minister, Mīr Mu'min, a great Shī'ah divine himself, was the centre of a whole bevy of Persian men of letters, diplomats and teachers of note.

The king's poetry in Dakhni, which forms a large part of his famous *Kulliyāt*, was to a certain extent different to his Persian poetry, for it was louder and perhaps more realistic than the latter. The volume of his Persian poetry is far smaller than his poetry in Dakhni which reaches thousands of verses. Here may be cited a few lines which would show the flow of the language at the hands of the king :

مستان محبت بدو عالم نفروشدند
کیفیت ته جرعه پیمانه خود را
اے قطبشه آخر ره مردان ره عشق است
مردانه همی رو ره مردانه خود را

حرفی ز لب یار شنیدیم شنیدیم
صد شکر که این باده چشیدیم چشیدیم
اعجاز محبت منگر کم که درین راه
بی بال و پر از شوق پریدیم پریدیم
اے قطبشه از درد دل خویش چه گویم
مشتاق تر از خویش ندیدیم ندیدیم

در ره دوست دلانست ضرر دانستم
سخن اهل غرض بود خطر، دانستم
خوش بجد داشت دلم کز تو وفا می آید
شکر باری که ترا بار دگر دانستم
قطبشه دوش که در گلشن کوئی بودم
ذوق کیفیت مرغان سحر دانستم¹³

Out of many Persian poets and prose-writers who flocked to Haidarabad during his reign there were many of outstanding merit. Muhammad Amīn Shahrīstānī came to the Deccan in 1602-3 and was appointed Mīr Jumla by the Sultan on the recommendation of the Peshwa of the Kingdom, Mīr Muhammad Mu'min Astrābādī. He retained his high office right through the reign. He was a great upholder of Persian learning and patronised those whom he considered fit for his patronage. While he was in the Deccan he composed four *mathnawīs* parallel to the well-known *Khamsa-i Nizami*, viz. *Khusraw Shīrīn*, *Lailā Majnūn*, *Matmahul-Anzār* and *Falakul-Burūj*. These *mathnawīs* were compiled in four years from 1017 A.H. to 1021 A.H.¹⁴

Another poet who was honoured at Haidarabad was Mulla Mu'īn Mīrak Sabzwāri who began by acting as the Nizam Shahi envoy to Haidarabad in order to facilitate the King on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Hayāt Bakhshi Begum to Prince Muhammad. He composed the following lines felicitating the new couple :

دوش سر کرده خیالم ره بزمی چو بهشت
 اهل آن بزم چو حوران همه نورانی چهر
 بزم عیشی که ملائک به تماشا شده خم
 سر برون کرده چو انجم همه از جیب سهر¹⁵

Mīr Mu'min Astrābādī

Here it is necessary to say something about the services rendered to Persian literature by the Peshwa Mīr Mu'min who has left indelible marks on the history and culture of Haidarabad. Mīr Mu'min arrived in Haidarabad in the beginning of 985/1581 during Ibrāhīm's reign and lived on through the reigns of Muhammad-Quli and Sultan Muhammad. It is truly strange that we are not aware either of the birth-date of this great man nor are we sure of the date of his death which is not incised on his grave at the Dā'ira-i Mīr Mu'min, Haidarabad. It is surmised that he died in 1034/1624-25, i.e., not long after his patron's death.¹⁶ Mīr Mu'min's early training had been in the court of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī, and this training came to his assistance in later life. His poetry is ripe and purposeful, and it was his tutorship of King's nephew and son-in-law Prince Muhammad which bore abundant fruit during the latter's reign.

In the eyes of the Mīr, Haidarabad had taken the shape of a new Isfahan, as he says in one of the odes dedicated to Sultan Muhammad on the occasion of the festival of Zil-Hajjah in 1020:

گر صفاهان نو شد از شاه جهان عباس شاه
حیدرآباد از تو شد شاه صفاهان نوی

The first dated piece by the Mīr is the chronogram composed at the birth of Sultan Muhammad on 14 Rabi' II, 1001/1592-93 :

خواستم تاریخ آن فرخنده گوهر عقل گفت
اول کام است و فیروزی و اقبال و ظفر

Some of his later pieces are full of gusto :

شدم پر از غمت غافل مشواز روزگار من
که من بر یاد شوق دادہ ام خوش روزگاری را
مرا بس این کہ دارم حکم بر اقلیم ناکامی
مسلم باد ملک کامگاری بهختیاری را

کل از آتش اگر روید عجب نیست زمین دوستی خوش سرزمینی ست

وہ چہ ایران آنچنان ایران کہ آید در نظر
رو بہر جانب کہ آری باغ رضوان نوی

The conditions prevailing at Golkonda-Haidarabad led to the influx of literary men from Iran, some who came to stay, such as Mulla Mu'īn Mīrak, Muhsin Hamadāni and Wahshi Kāshi, while others returned to Iran such as Ghiyāthud-Dīn Isfahāni, Sirājud-Dīn 'Ārif and others.

Apart from odes and religious invocations of which Mīr Mu'min was the master there is a remarkable prose work by him viz., the *Risāla-i Miqdāriah*. The pamphlet deals with the weights and measures current in the Qutb Shāhi Kingdom and their comparison with the weights and measures prescribed by the Muslim law and tradition. The pamphlet may be said to be the first scientific treatment of the subject in Persian in the Deccan. A few sentences would suffice by way of illustration :

میل کمتر از فرسخ و برید است - پیش اہل لغت عرب آن قدر
مسافت است کہ در زمین نظر کسی کہ در دیدن او قصوری نباشد

تا بانجا تواند رسید - در صحاح و قاموس و معرب اللغت و در بعضی از کتب فقه برین وجه مذکور ساخته اند و شیخ زین الدین در شرح شرائع ذکر کرده که در دیدن مذکور پیاده را از سوار فرق توان نمود - و در بعضی از جایها از برای ابتدا و انتها علامتین گاهی مقرر می داشته اند بشکل مخروطی¹⁷

Sultan Muhammad

Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shāh (1611-12-1626) had been nurtured in the milieu created by Mīr Mu'min, and had moved far away from the literary atmosphere of the court of his father-in-law Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shāh. He was of a studious and scholarly bent of mind, and the Mīr had made him an Iranophil to the extent that, as he has said in an ode quoted above, he had turned Haidarabad into a new Isfahan. Sultan Muhammad's erudition and love of learning as well as a variety of works in almost all the current sciences in Persian is evidenced by the remnant of the books in the royal library which have survived the ravages of time and which are interspread in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna; the National Library, Berlin; Haidarabad Central Library; Salar Jang Museum, Haidarabad, and a number of private collections.¹⁸

Muhammad Qutb Shāh was a bibliophil, and the many endorsement on his books in his own handwriting show how much at home he was in Perso-Muslim learning. We have already dealt with the endorsement of his genealogy on the copy of the *Kanzul-Lughāt*, and 27 another important autographic insertions on the Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh's *Kulliyāt* would show the flow of the Persian language at his hand.¹⁹

A few instances of Muhammad's Persian poetry would show not merely his mastery of diction but also the variety of topics on which he composed his pieces:

یارب چو برتری تو ز وصف لسان ما
پنهان شده ز شرم زبان در دهان ما
جائی بود مقام خداوندیت که هست
صد خنده عقل را ز چنین و چنان ما
ظل الله از شرور بدان در پناه تست
ای درگاه جلال تو دارالامان ما

مصطفی و مرتضی چون نیستند از هم جدا
نعت و مدح هر دو شه را می‌کنم باهم ادا

از التفات دلبر عالی مقام ما گردون زداست سکه دولت بنام ما

شام و صبح ماست چو شام و صبح عید
بر یاد دوست چون گذرد صبح و شام ما
در شرع عشق نیست روا غیر یاد دوست
زاهد تو غافل ز حلال و حرام ما

یافت وصل تو دلم صدق و صفا را دریاب
اثر مهر نگر فیض وفا را دریاب
می رود جانب گلزار به بوی تو صبا
خیز و کم کرده ره بی سرو پارا دریاب
چون نهادی به ره عشق قدم ظل الله
اندرین ره روش شاه و گدا را دریاب

پادشاهی کجا و شوکت عشق شوکت جم غلام شوکت اوست

در محبت خسروان را از اطاعت عار نیست
ملک عشق است این و اینجا حاکمی جز یار نیست
عجب سر دوستی دان قصه موسی و خضر
غافل از سر محبت واقف اصرار نیست

نا امید از خود مکن دل را پس از چندین امید
گر نیازی کار او ، باری بگو خواهیم ساخت

تو خورشیدی و من چون ذره زان روی دلم لرزان ز تاب دوری تست
به بیداری نبینم لیک در خواب دلم فرخنده از مسروری تست

عجب رعنا و زیبائی ، چه گویم به خوبی عالم آرائی ، چه گویم
منور از تو گردیده است چشمم تو نور چشم بینائی ، چه گویم

گاه در صومعه گه دیرمغان گردیدیم
هر کجا در طلب دوست توان ، گردیدیم

عشق را سهل مگیرید که بی خیل و سپاه
ای بسا کشور آباد که ویران کرده

آمد محرم و غم دل بر ملاست باز
در دهر شور زلزله کربلاست باز
اورنگ خسروی ز میان برکنار شد
بر جای تخت پادشهی بوریاست باز
بر جان مصطفی است دگر صد هزار درد
صد گونه غم نصیب دل مرتضی است باز

آل رسول را عظمتها که داده حق
در خورد آن مصیبت اعظم رسیده است
روز جزا عجب که بر آرد ز خاک سر
ننگی که از یزید بر آدم رسیده است
ظلم الله از مصیبت سلطان کربلا
تاب سخن نمانده ز بس غم رسیده است

ظل الله آنچه گفت ازین قصه شمه ایست
کز سوز درد قدرت شرح و بیان نماید

آل رسول را به اسیری همی برند شرم و حیا و فتنه گریها نظر کنید
ظل الله آنچه گفت یکی از هزار نیست باقی براین قیاس سراها نظر کنید

از لعن آن گروه تسلی کنید دل
ای دوستان هشت و چهار و ده و چهار

ارکان دین شکسته شد از نکبت یزید محکم کنید دین خود از لعنت یزید

ظل الله آنکه نسبت خاصش به کربلاست
حشرش نما بمجمع خاصان کربلا

هر چند که حق داد عطا خواهد داد روزی که ز نیک و بد سزا خواهد داد
در عرصه میار آنچه لایمانه بود کز لطف کریمانه جزا خواهد داد²⁰

Before we pass on to the reign of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh (1626-1672) it is necessary to mention a very important work in chaste Persian prose which was written under Sultan Muhammad's orders and which is named after him, viz., *Tārikh-i Muhammad Qutb Shāh* or as it is generally known, the *Tārikh-i Qutb Shāhi*. The author, who chooses to be anonymous, says in his Introduction that he had as his guide a more voluminous history of the dynasty "by one of the officers of the State", but this larger history is extinct. On the other hand, the book under notice gives the reader and even the research worker all the necessary details of the State ranging from the Qara-Quyunlū right up to 1626 when the book was completed.

'Abdullāh

'Abdullāh was fourteen when his father died, and Sultan Muhammad took care to give his only son the best possible tuition in the Persian lore. At the age of five he was put under Mīr Mu'min's son-in-law, Mīrzā Sharīf Shahrīstānī and there is no doubt that he grew up to be a lover of Persian language and literature.

Rather curiously, however, we do not possess a single line in verse which may be attributed to 'Abdullah. We have, however, quite a volume of his diplomatic and other letters as well as a number of chronicles and one remarkable lexicon, the *Burhān-i Qāṭi* dedicated to him in 1061/1651.²¹ Except a few stray verses here and there, the main output of Persian literature in 'Abdullāh's reign is in prose and practically all of a serious nature. This answers to the difficult political stage through which the State was passing, and this hardly allowed any scope for light literature.

In spite of the adverse comments which *Burhān-i Qāṭi* has withstood, it is a remarkable dictionary written in the most modern style with a learned Introduction. The author, Muhammad Husain Burhān, begins the Introduction by defining the basis of the science of language:

بهترین لغتی که متکلمان بدیع البیان محفل زبان آرائی و نیکوترین
نکته‌ای که منشیان انجمن سخن پیرائی زبان بلاغت تبیان و لسان فصاحت
ترجمان را بآن متکلم و مترنم سازند حمد و سپاس علیمی را درخور است
که بحکمت بالغه و قدرت کامله خود شبستان حروف و کلمات را بنور
معانی رنگین مانند نوبهار چین ساخت و کاخ دماغ صدر نشینان بارگاه
سخندانی را بنقوش خیالات رنگا رنگ برنگ کارنامه ارژنگ پرداخت.²²

Later in this Introduction the author deals with the broad structure of the Persian language, the origin of proto-Persian and the Pahlavi, the genius of the language, the theory of letters as applied to Persian, the total number of words then current in the language and a number of other topics pertaining to it.

Mīrzā Nizāmud-Dīn Ahmad Sā'idi's *Hadīqatus-Sālatīn* is a detailed history of the first nineteen years of 'Abdullah's reign. It is a day-to-day chronicle of the working of the Court during the period. It is different in essence to *Tārīkh-i Muhammad Qutb Shāh* as it concentrates on the doings of 'Abdullah's court while the former is a detailed history of the dynasty right up to 1026/1617.²³

From the point of view of the permeation of Iranian culture in South India, the folk songs which the Andhra tiller of the soil sings rhythmically with the movement of his plough are interesting. It is the traditional story of Imām Hasan and Imām Hussain, grandsons of the Prophet, which have been so completely acclimated that the Andhra villager is not aware

of their original significance, and the stories have become a part and parcel of the Andhra culture. There are variations from the traditional story woven round the persons of the Prophet's grandsons which made them thoroughly intelligible to the non-Muslim villager, but their variations become the more interesting thereby. The translation of one of the songs would show how the story has been intertwined with local sentiment. The dirges are all Teluguised, and even the marriage of Hazrat Qāsim is placed in the Andhra atmosphere. A small quotation will illustrate the story:

“Salutation to Thee, Salutation to God, Salutation to Almighty!
In the City of the Sky there is a beautiful Fort;
Inside the Fort there is a Palace made of glass;
Inside the Palace of glass there are high seats;
There are whisks and beautiful thrones;
Who are on those two thrones?
These are Hasan and Husain, two brothers,
Kings in Court, Lords on the Throne,
Monarchs ruling over the Seven Isles.”²⁴

Abul-Hasan

If the Teluguised version of the dirges connected with the fateful tale of Karbala points to the approaching extinction of the dynasty the process of that extinction did not take very long before its final disappearance in 1687. In spite of the supreme efforts of the last king, Abul-Hasan Qutb Shāh, surnamed Tānā Shāh (1672-1687), the Kingdom could not survive the onslaughts of the Mughal power from without and conspiracies and treasons from within. Although Persian continued to be the official language of the state, political turmoil and uncertainties of official life did not allow Abul-Hasan to patronise the output of Persian language and literature to any extent. Still, the language had a remarkable hold on the life, even of the non-Persian elements in south India, and it is related that when Shivaji sent Raghunāth Nārāyan Hanumante as his envoy to Haidarabad in order to prepare the ground for his approaching visit, the envoy spoke to the Sultan in chaste Persian, which drew the two close to each other. Even before Shivaji visited Haidarabad as a State guest, Hanumante was able by his tactics to persuade Abul-Hasan to agree to an offensive and defensive alliance.²⁵

This episode as well as an effort at creative literature in the shape of ‘Ali b. Taifūr Bastāmi’s *Hadā’iqus-Salātīn* may be said to be the last glow in the embers of the Qutb Shāhi dynasty. The only Persian book of note which was completed during the reign was the *Hadā’iqus-Salātīn* noted

above.²⁶ The author takes pride in being a pupil of the Peshwa of the Kingdom, 'Allāma Muhammad ibn Khātūn. It was completed in 1092/1681, i.e., barely six years before the fall of the dynasty and the elimination of the last independent Sultanate of the Deccan. And still the author calls Abul-Hasan, *Shāh-i Jahān*, in the dedicatory couplet :

بتخصیص شاه جهان بوالحسن که در سایه اوست مارا وطن

and in the following couplet prays for his royal prestige to remain for ever !

که این خسرو عادل و پاک دین همیشه باقبال باد آفرین²⁷

The book is divided into three unequal *Hadīqas* or Gardens, and in spite of the sub-title *کلام الخواقین* a very large portion of the work is devoted to the life histories and works of poets, prose writers, administrators and their literary compositions. It is in vivid contrast to the other two prose chronicles of the dynasty, viz., *Tāzkh-i Muḥammad Qutb Shāh* which deals with the history of the dynasty upto 1617 and the *Hadīqatus-Salātīn* which concentrates only on one reign. The *Hadā'iq*, which is more variegated, begins with the ancient Iranian dynasties, the Pīshdādis, the Kiyānis and the Ashkānis, and then delves through the Muslim dynasties, the more eminent Sultans such as the Ziyānis, the Sultans of Ghor, the Seljūqis, Khwārizmshāhis, some of the Sultans of Turkey and some of the Timurids right up to Jahangir. He then deals with the ancestors of the Qutb Shāhis, the Safawis of Iran, passing on to the Bahmanis, of whom he touches only two, some of the 'Ādil Shāhis of Bijapur and then the "paragons of justice", the Qutb Shāhis. The last *Hadīqa* deals entirely with the prominent writers of the Persian language, including administrators, men of learning, writers, some of whom passed their lives in India, while others who never came to this country. Obviously the criteria of choice are different when the chosen include Nāsir Khusraw, Nizām-ul-Mulk Tūsi, Nāsirud-Dīn Tūsi, Shamsud-Dīn Muhammad Kirmāni, Abdul-Rahīm Khān-i Khānān, Abul-Fazl, Faizi, Mīr Jumla Muhammad Amīn, Mahmūd Gāwān, Muhammad ibn Khātūn and others. The lack of system is a picture of the turbulent times through which the kingdom was passing. Still we are grateful to the author for having provided us with data about the life and work of authors in Persian verse and prose which would otherwise be difficult to gather.²⁸

Safawi Iran had, in fact, a quasi-political hold on the Qutb Shāhi as the name of the Shāh of Iran was blessed in Friday sermons all over the Kingdom. It was only in 1636 that it was replaced by the name of the Mughal Emperor under the well-known *Inqiyād Nāma* of that year.²⁹

FOOTNOTES

1. For the greatest extent of the Qutb Shāhi dominions see map marking its extent about 1670 in Sherwani, *History of the Qutb Shāhi Dynasty*, facing p. 493. Tilangana or the land of Trilinga was the name given to the area controlled by the Qutb Shāhis by our Indo-Persian chronicles. The name Golkonda was given to the whole area by the British.
2. The genealogy will be found on the fly-leaf of the *Kanzul-Lughāt* (Ms. Salar Jang Library, Haidarabad) and is in the hand of Muhammed Qutb Shāh. It is dated beginning of Zilhajjah, 1025/November, 1616. Muhammad Qutb Shāh was the fourth ruler of the dynasty and ruled from 1611 to 1626.
3. For the Qara-quyunlū and the Aq-quyunlū see *Tārīkh-i Muhammad Qutb Shāh* (Q.S.), Ms. Asafiyah, *Tārīkh-i Fārsi*, 401, *Introduction*. See also Minorsky, "The Qara-quyunlū and the Qutb Shāhis," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1955, pp. 56-73.
4. Muhammad Shāh III surnamed Lashkari, ruled 1463-1482. For the advent of Sultan-Quli see Sherwani, *the Bahmanis of the Deccan*, Chapter 12.
5. Q.S., 29-30.
6. For the Telugu inscription in the Kovilkonda Fort on which this account is based, see *Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department*, 1928-29.
7. *Tārīkh-i Qutb Shāhi*, India Office Library, Ethe, 2646, fol. 52b, 53b.
8. *Tārīkh-i Ilchi-i Nizām Shāh*, Ms., Salar Jang Museum, Haidarabad, No. 188 b. Khutshah had already left Anandnagar and settled down at Golkonda under the umbrage of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and the name of the book appears to be a misnomer.
9. Quotations from this book will be found in Q.S. *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52. The book is otherwise extinct.
10. See *Risāla Tārīkh*, April-June, 1929, pp. 124-125 where a reference to the book is made to the Ms. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal where it is called رزة الصوم and the date of its completion is given as 983/1575.
11. See Z.A. Desai, "Abarqūhi and his Dīwān", *Indo-Iranica*, 1962, pp. 12-37. The unique Ms. of the *Dīwān* is found in Kitāb Khāna-i Majlis, Tehran, No. 15033. Dr. Desai considers the Ms. to be unique.

✓ 12. Versified histories :

Nasab Nāma-i Qutb Shāhi, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Iyonow, 690; *Nisbat Nāma-i Shahryāri*; *Ibid.*, 691; *Tawārīkh-i Qutb Shāhi*, India Office, *Ethe*, 2649; *Tawārīkh-i Qutb Shāhiya* (*Khamṣa-i-Qutb Shāhiya*), Salar Jang Library, *Adab*, *Nazm Farsi*, 1101.

13. See Mīr Sa'ādat 'Alī Razavī, *Kalāmūl-Mulūk*, pp. 46-54.

14. For these *mathnawīs* respectively see *Ethe* I. Col. 641, No. 1539; *Ethe*, 842, Col. 1540; *Rieu*, II, p. 65, Add. 24088; *Rieu*, II, Add. 25903.

15. For the passage see *Q.S.* 280.

16. For full discussion of the date of Mīr Mu'min's death see Zor: *Hayāt-i Mīr Mu'min*, pp. 174-179. The extracts from the Mīr's poetry have all been culled from the valuable book.

17. This highly valuable pamphlet of 16 folios is housed in the Salar Jang Museum, Haiderabad, and is in Mīr Mu'min's own hand-writing. It has the famous seal of Sultan Muhammad's library

مهر سلیمان ز حق گشته میسر مرا نقش نگین است حیدر صفدر مرا

along with a superscription in Sultan Muhammad's own hand-writing,

بندہ شاه نجف سلطان محمد قطب شاه

For a complete description as well as the manuscript editions of the pamphlet see *Hayāt-i Mir Mu'min*, *op. cit.* pp. 194-197.

✓ 18. For a list of surviving books, see Sherwani, *Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shāh*, Karachi, 1962, pp. 19-20. It is to the credit of the Sultan that the number of manuscripts in the royal library in 1034 A.H. exceeded 35,000; see Sherwani, *History of the Qutb Shāhi Dynasty*, p. 400.

19. See Zor., *Kulliyāt-i Muhammed-Quli Qutb Shāh*, p. 12, when Sultan Muhammad's insertion has been copied along with his personal seal.

20. Sa'ādat 'Alī Razavī, *op. cit.*, Sultan Muhammad adopted *Zillul-lāh*, ظل الله and *Sultan* as his *takhallus*.

✓ 21. (1) مکاتیب سلطان عبداللہ قطب شاہ Salar Jang, *Adab*, *Nathr Fārsi*, 295.

- (2) عرائض واتحاد نامہ جات عبداللہ قطب شاہ Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu Library, Karachi, 270.
- (3) مجموعہ نثر فارسی Salar Jang, 163, انشاء حاجی عبدالعلی طالقانی
22. *Burhān-i Qāti* ' was published in two volumes by Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, in 1888.
23. Mīrzā Nizāmud-Dīn Sā'idi's *Hadīqatus-Salātīn*, annotated by Sayid 'Ali Asghar Bilgrāmi and published by *Idāra-i Adabiyāt Urdu*, Haidarabad, in 1962.
24. See Tomati Donappa, "Muharram Geetakalu", *Bharati*, Madras, 1941, pp. 162-164. See also Rama Raju, *Muharram Folk Songs in Telugu*, p. 3.
25. Kincaid and Parasnis : *History of the Maratha People*, Vol I, p. 238. Hanumante's knowledge of Persian, *Shivadigvijaya Bhakkar*, referred to by Kincaid and Parasnis, p. 254.
26. The unique manuscript of the book is housed in the Salar Jang Library, Haidarabad. *Tārīkh Fārsi*, 213.
27. Colophon, fol. 209 (a).
28. The author successfully covers his mental anguish more than the works of poets in Dakhni which are full of dirges and *marthiyas* giving a premonition of the crash which was to follow. For this see Sherwani, *History of the Qutb Shāhi Dynasty*, pp. 608-613. Golkonda fell to the Mughals on 21 September 1687.
29. For the full text of this important document see Abul-Hāmid Lahori, *Pādshāh Nāma*, Calcutta, 1866-72, II, pp. 177-181; for extracts see Sherwani, *History of the Qutb Shāhi Dynasty*, p. 436.

Goethe, Hāfiz and Iqbāl

A Comparative Study in their Creative Life-Styles

Prof. S. Vahiduddin

There are many good reasons to consider the life-styles of Goethe, Hāfiz and Iqbāl in a comparative frame work and to explore their perspectives in a phenomenological way allowing each pattern of creative experience unstinted recognition. These great masters of poetic vision belong to different areas of the world and the influences that may have been decisive in the formation of their Weltanschauung have been varied. Goethe whom Matthew Arnold described as Europe's 'sagest head' was a man who enjoyed a rich and full life, who could love to the end of his day with the passion of youth. His concerns in life, were equally varied. He could interest himself in Nature at different levels, make a patient study of the plant life, formulate an unorthodox theory of colours and above all delve into the obscure recesses of man's life. He was not a man of science in any professional sense, but fought against the mechanistic concepts of science. Though the soundness of his approach has been questioned and his conclusions have not found favour with the academic spokesmen of science his interest in science could not have been in vain and well [there might be an aspect of Nature only to be seen through a poet's eye and discovered by a poet's genius. He was not also a philosopher in any technical sense nor even such a systematic student of philosophical thought as his friend and younger contemporary Schiller was, but he was none the less one of the most philosophical of world's great poets. His was a lyrical genius of the first order and as an observer of the human soul he could follow its majestic heights and feel his way through its sinister depths. The two parts of *Faust* reveal totally different dimensions of the poet's experience and the quality of his formative power also undergoes a striking change. What the second part stands for, what its symbolism really means, it is not easy to say, though some of Goethe's deepest insights are embodied in it. The first part is much more subjective: it responds to

common understanding more positively. Tr. Faust is a disillusioned scholar who after long and laborious years of study realised to his utter dismay that his search for knowledge has led him nowhere. He is so disenchanted with all that goes in the name of knowledge that he curses all that is held in esteem, be it love or hope, faith or patience.¹ Tempted by Mephisto, who is not so much the embodiment of evil as the principle of movement in man and the spirit of denial, he seeks compensation in the pleasures of the world. But peace he does not find. He has to go through sin and suffering to find deliverance and redemption in love. And this is described with a religious pathos and mystic elan in the concluding second part of *Faust*. This all-embracing love he finds immanent in the Cosmos and it is only when every thing seems lost and the victory of evil over man seems complete, that it makes its presence effective. And it was this womanly aspect of the Cosmos (Das Ewig Weibliche) which came to the rescue of Faust in his last anguish and carried him to everlasting peace and bliss.

The poetry of Hāfiz has wielded immense influence wherever Persian is spoken or understood and he is recognised as the greatest lyrical genius of the Persian language. A mystical halo has surrounded his name and he is hailed as the interpreter of the unknown (Tarjumān al-Ghaib) and many legends have been woven round his name. People have sought mystic significance in his love poetry and where wine, saqi and love are spoken of in glowing terms they are understood as symbols for love divine. The *Dīwān* has even been used as a book of divination and many interesting anecdotes have been accumulated in the course of time. But in all mystical love poetry one cannot ignore the human touch, and a fascinating ambiguity lurks in it. Some of the greatest mystical geniuses have found in human love the basis of the mystic experience. What testimony can be more authentic than that of the great Shaikh, Ibn 'Arabi: "One of the most subtle phenomena of love is that which I experienced in myself. You experience a vehement love, a sympathy, an ardent desire, an emotional agitation so great as to provoke

1. The majestic verses of Ghālib naturally come to mind.

بیدلی ہاے تماشا کہ نہ عبرت ہے نہ ذوق
 بیکسی ہاے تمنا کہ نہ دنیا ہے نہ دیں
 لاف دانش غلط و نفع عبادت معلوم
 درد یک ساغر غفلت ہے چہ دنیا و چہ دیں

physical weakness, total insomnia, disgust at food, and yet you do not know for whom or by whom. And then by chance an image appears to you in an inner vision. Then this love attaches itself to it. Or else you meet a certain person; at the sight the previously experienced emotion attaches itself to the person (as its object), and you recognize that this person was the object of your love, though you were unaware of it." (Quoted after Henri Corbin, with a slight alteration: *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi*, p. 329).

That even romantic love may transcend itself and take almost the form of *caritas* is shown in the words of Shakespeare's Juliet :

My bounty is as boundless as the sea,
My love as deep; the more I give to thee,
The more I have, for both are infinite.

When one goes deep into the poetry of Hāfiz and allows its influence to work unhindered one finds that the love of which Hāfiz sings is two dimensional. It gives expression to man's yearning on two planes which continuously intersect, and one is never sure of the soil on which one happens to stand at the moment. Friedrich Ruckert who has made remarkable translations of oriental poetry has given a very pointed expression to this feature of Hāfiz. "When Hāfiz appears to speak only of the supersensible he speaks of the sensible. Does he then speak of the supersensible when he appears to speak of the sensible? His secret is supersensible because his sensible is supersensible." We find ourselves moving between the finite and the infinite and even when one understands the finite as finite it is suddenly transfigured and begins to emit light which seems to come from beyond. Hence Hāfiz cannot be understood in a rigid and fixed frame of reference. He cannot be interpreted exclusively either in terms of other worldly Sufism or in terms of Bohemian estheticism. There are of course verses which reveal mystic heights and do not allow us to entertain any doubts as to its mystic origins. The experience speaks for itself and is marked by incontestable authenticity. As for example, when he speaks of the night when he found deliverance from sorrow and tasted of life eternal. Whilst the light of His essence overpowered him he drank deep from His attributes in their reflection:

دوش وقت سحر از غصه نجاتم دادند
وندران ظلمت شب آب حیاتم دادند

بیخود از شمعشعه^۱ پرتو ذاتم کردند
 باده راز، اِجام، اِتجلی صفاتم دادند

No less authentically he sings of the mystic experience when he witnessed the creation of Adam re-enacted before his eyes and he found himself blessed with the company of heavenly hosts in supernal spheres of mystery :

دوش دیدم که ملایک در میخانه زدند کل آدم بسوشتند و به پیمانہ زدند
 ساکنان حرم ستر عفاف ملکوت با من راه نشین بادۂ مستانہ زدند
 آسمان بار امانت نتوانست کشید قرعہ^۲ فال بنام من دیوانہ زدند

And there are other verses where the human dimension is predominant, where the poet sings of Ruknābād and Musallā, wistfully recalls the joys of the human company, the enchanting beauty of Nature and the love of Shīrāz. Again there are verses, and they form the major part of the *Diwān*, which allow the interpretation either way. His love does not allow itself to be contained by biological compulsions and persists in old age with as much passion as in youth and refuses to wear itself out in course of time. Years do not make any difference :

پیرانہ سرم عشق جوانی بسر افتاد و آن راز کہ در دل بنہنتم بدر افتاد

گرچه پیرم توشبی تنگ در آغوشم گیر تا سحر گه ز کنار تو جوان برخیزم

The vision of Hāfiz is permeated by the presence of God and in whatever way man may err he cannot escape the all-embracing mercy of God. Hāfiz truthfully echoes the Quranic mood which assures man of His unfailing mercy and indeed the Quran serves Hāfiz as an unerring guide. It is true that the poet is deeply conscious of the evanescent character of all that is. Power and glory pass away and man's pride which rests on human power is doomed. But though the world is transitory and all that exists is subject to death and destruction man should let his voice reverberate in the world so long as he lives and make his presence effective in life completely unconcerned with its transitory character :

عاقبت منزل ما وادی خاموشانست حالیا غلغلہ در گنبد افلاک انداز^۲

2. Incorporated in Iqbāl's Urdu poem on Napoleon.

The world passes with its joys and sorrows but joys have a place of their own. It is true man even in the short life given to him has to pass through anxieties and cares without end, his sky is overcast with clouds. But even when his boat sinks and his friends totally ignorant of what has befallen him, enjoy sound sleep, he is not given to despair. Suddenly the transcendental powers make their presence effective in his consciousness :

هان مشو نومید چون واقف نه ای زاسرار غیب
باشد اندر پرده بازیهای پنهان ، غم مخور

صبح امید که بد معتکف پرده غیب گوبرون آی که کار شب تار آخر شد

It may be thought that Hāfiz does not recognize free will, does not seem to accord freedom (اختیار) at any place in his scheme of things. And here it is that the contrast with Iqbāl seems to be most striking. On the one hand there is a poet who insists on man's uniqueness as self, on his *Khudi* (خودی) on his creativity; on the other there is a poet for whom freedom has no metaphysical roots, who seems to speak for total predestination. But their frames of reference are different.³ Iqbāl's poetry is much more determined by his ideology than either of Goethe or Hāfiz. The predestination of Hāfiz is not so much reflective as a part of his own mystic experience where nothing exists but God, where to say 'I am' is also a grievous sin. Man wins freedom after the sacrifice of his empirical attributes. When he has passed through the state of 'lā' or negation he emerges 'transfigured in a new light :

3. Though their existential level were indeed different Iqbāl could not resist the pervasive influence of Hāfiz. The following verses have found an echo in Iqbāl:

ازین چمن گل بی خار کس نچید آری
چراغ مصطفوی با شرار بولهبی ست
حسن ز بصره ، بلال از حبش ، صهیب از روم
ز خاک مکه ابوجهل ، این چه بوالعجبی ست

از پای تا سرت همه نور خدا شود در راه ذوالجلال چوبی پا و سر شوی

The man of God then attains his creative and effective potency when he keeps vigils at night moaning in distress and prays in the morning with eyes filled with tears. He is not a slave of habit, but only by subduing its routine he acquires his mystic status. Hāfiz never dissuades us from struggle, but insists on human endeavour perhaps because it is no less a part of God's pre-eternal decision. Often when Hāfiz takes recourse to predestination it is to refute the theologian with his own weapons and when he himself seems to commit himself to a deterministic view it is not that of mechanical determinism as that of Spinoza, but a part of his mystic experience when man becomes more than nature through the sacrifice of his nature :

خواب و خورت ز مرتبه عشق دور کرد

آندم رسی بدوست که بیخواب و خور شوی

What is it that fascinated Goethe in Hāfiz? He wrote in 1815 that with the appearance of the German translation of Hāfiz by J. Von Hammer-Purgstall he was greatly shaken. He could not go through this experience without active participation and it worked so powerfully on him that he had to flee from his surroundings into an ideal world. Goethe, in order to appreciate the oriental world, found it necessary to breathe its air and to acquaint himself with the peculiarities of the language and the customs of the Islamic Orient. He read some fragments of the Arabic Poetry which were available in translations, and busied himself with the life of the Prophet of Islam. He could not stand the encounter with Hāfiz, 'this mighty phenomenon', as he says, without responding to him in verses which were inspired by his own experience. The result was the *Dīwān*. Even the cursory perusal of the *Dīwān* shows how the German poet had involved himself in the world of the Islamic East. Earlier he had made his acquaintance with the Quran, and in spite of the disadvantages which all translations, and especially the Quranic, are subject to, he had found in it a book which infused in him ever-growing wonder. How much the unique personality of the Prophet of Islam had influenced him is shown in *Muhammed's Song* whose spirit is conveyed in a poem of Iqbāl included in the *Payām-i Mashriq*. Goethe, of course, could appreciate the world of Hāfiz primarily in its aesthetic and human relevance. There are also in Goeth's *Dīwān* verses which show the German poet following the path of Hāfiz with lyrical light-heartedness.

While Hāfiz would fain to give Samarkand and Bukhārā for the mole of his beloved, Goethe would present these wonderful cities and even more with equal ease. If this kind of generosity finds little understanding with the Kaiser it is because he has neither a beloved like the Poet's nor is a mendicant like him. Goethe also composed verses which closely follow the Ghazals of Hāfiz in intention and spirit. When Hāfiz asks the morning breeze to let the beloved know how he loves and pines for his love with grace (باطف) Goethe completely assimilates this delicacy of sentiment and asks the West Wind to go post-haste to his beloved and convey his love gently (sanft) taking care to conceal his feelings so as not to make her sad. Now when love becomes realisation for both these great poets and lovers the intimate accents of their experience have a surprising similarity. Goethe here also completely succeeds in making the many splendoured world of Hāfiz his own at least in some of its characteristic moments. Goethe was bound to Hāfiz in what one might call pre-eternal affinity. Even before his encounter with Hāfiz his poems reveal the same delicacy of sentiment and are informed with the same spirit of self-surrender. While Hāfiz thinks himself too small to be thought of by the beloved :

من که باشم که بران خاطر عاطر گذرم لطفها میکنی ای خاک درت تاج سرم

Goethe characterises love as 'happiness without peace' and runs eagerly to lay himself at her feet. (See Goethe's poems 'Rastlose Liebe' and 'Sehnsucht')

Now when Hāfiz sings of love with raptures :

مطرب خوش نوا بگو تازه بتازه نو بنو باده دلکشا بجو ، تازه بتازه نو بنو
باصنمی چو لعبتی خوش بنشین بخلوی بوسه ستان بکام او ، تازه بتازه نو بنو

Goethe responds with equal fervour. His beautiful verses celebrate love a la Hāfiz when kisses are exchanged with kisses, glances with glances and breath is mingled with breath with unabated warmth.⁴ But to say that he was insensitive to the mystic strain of Hāfiz will be far from the truth. Goethe was fully aware of the fact that Hāfiz was called 'the mystic tongue' and that his poetic imagery was invested with a symbolic meaning and he

4. Lieb' um Liebe, Stund' um Stunde,
Wort um Wort und Blick um Blick,
Kuss um Kuss vom treuesten Munde,
Hauch um Hauch und Glück um Glück.

(Goethe: West-Ostlicher Divan)

was equally aware that all that passes has an allegorical significance and that love itself, especially a woman's love, was capable of being transformed into an ultimate experience. He could give expression to this mystic all-God consciousness in those memorable verses of the *Dīwān* which begin with the words, "In thousand Forms, Most Beloved, you can hide yourself and in as many magic veils you can cover yourself and yet as, All-Present, I recognize you."

Muhammad Iqbāl was greatly conscious of his affiliation with Goethe and his *Payām-i Mashriq* is in fact composed as reply to Goethe's *West-Ostlicher Divān*. He found in Goethe's emphasis on personality as the highest bliss of the children of the earth and in his urge for the full unfoldment of his potentialities as well as in his call to die, to live a kindred soul. The emphasis on action and freedom has been characteristic of post-Kantian German idealism, though the idealistic concept of freedom and action is different from what Iqbāl means. In a famous passage Faust feels dissatisfied with the translation of the beginning of Saint John's Gospel and after trying to substitute 'thought' and 'power' for 'Word' he decides that 'act' would more truthfully convey the original intention. Among German philosophers it was Fichte who in the early phase of his thought considered the Ego as ultimately real and the non-ego as posited by the Ego to make the exercise of duties possible. The ego of course here is the Absolute Ego. But the world Iqbāl moves in has a different mould and his concept of freedom is not derived from German Idealism but from the French philosopher Henri Bergson. The Bergsonian concept of freedom is based on the consciousness of the authentic time which is duration (*duree*) as distinguished from the serial time of physics and mechanics. Bergsonian duration involves the notion of continuity as well as persistence of being and the idea of the non-destructibility of what is past. In fact it is an attempt to reject the idea of a specialised time as a homogenous simultaneity. Iqbāl, however, took clue from Bergson but developed his notion of time in his own way incorporating traditions taken from varied sources, Islamic and non-Islamic, and it is a question whether any consistent view of time can be ascribed to him. While philosophically Time as given in consciousness is identified with Reality it figures in his poetical formulation as a magician whose enchanted circle can be broken only by the man of God who has attained realisation, strangely reminiscent of the power of the Vedantic *māyā* whose magic show is brought to nought with true knowledge or realisation. *Zervan* as the spirit of space and Time declares that 'he is life, he is death, he is resurrection' and whether it is angel or man he keeps them in his hold. But only he who has a time with God breaks his spell.

لی مع الله هر کرا در دل نشست آن جوانمردی طلسم من شکست
(جاوید نامه)

Earlier the same prophetic tradition was quoted in support of a different trend of thought showing the marked impact of Bergson with a decisive separation of time from space :

اصل وقت از گردش خورشید نیست وقت جاوید است و خور جاوید نیست
وقت را مثل مکان گسترده امتیاز دوش و فردا کرده
(اسرار خودی)

His earlier poem *Nawā-i-Waqt*, very moving and beautiful indeed, has a Bergsonian accent as well but goes much beyond the philosopher's intention. Now Time is considered God's robe and Man's cloak and both of them, Man and God, are looked upon as holding one another's secret :

پنهان به ضمیر من صد عالم رعنا بین
صد کوکب غلطان بین ، صد گنبد خضرا بین
من کسوت انسانم ، پیراهن یزدانم (پیام مشرق)

This ambiguity, however annoying it may be at the philosophical level, constitutes the peculiar charm of Iqbāl's poetry and shows that the poet truthfully gives expression to different phases of his poetic experience unhindered by philosophical scruples :

هستی و نیستی از دیدن و نادیدن من
چه زمان و چه مکان شوخی افکار من است (زبور عجم)

It is not so much on the philosophical as on the level of religious anthropology that Iqbāl and Goethe seem to move on parallel lines, though on lines which by their very nature cannot fully meet. The religious symbolism of Satan greatly impressed Iqbāl. The figure of Iblīs in the Islamic context has inspired mystic speculation and in some cases he is even represented as a true monist, as one who refused to prostrate before any one but God. In Rūmi he is represented as the embodiment of dis-

cursive intellect whereas Adam is shown to represent love in total submission. Iblīs questions the divine decision and holds God responsible for his refusal. Adam on the other hand repents and takes the blame on himself without any argument. Hence while Iblīs is cursed and falls irretrievably the fall of Adam, in the Islamic perspective has not been unmitigated evil. Adam's sin offers new opportunities for development and leaves him the possibility of making good what he has lost. In Iqbāl, Iblīs enjoys a respectable position and though Islamic reference is never lost sight of, the Miltonian profile becomes more prominent. He represents a pride which cannot be subdued and speaks with a sense of righteous indignation and pleads his cause in a way which shows clearly where the sympathy of the poet in fact lies. It is as with Milton's Satan who embodies the spirit of revolt and who would rather rule in Hell than serve in heaven. But whether it is Milton, Goethe or Iqbal the force of evil could not assume an absolute character and could not lead to any form of Manichean dualism. Evil cannot ultimately triumph and however victorious it may appear to be in individual skirmishes and battles, the struggle leaves no doubt as to its result and that is the subjugation of evil in the end. Evil is always subordinated to the divine *telos*. Satan appears not so much in his confrontation with God as in his challenge to man, as a force that has made 'man's history colourful through his blood' and who in fact contributes to the glory of God in forcing man to show what is best in him and demonstrate the *raison d'être* of his existence. Iqbāl has retained the Quranic motive when he makes Iblīs man's indispensable counterpart who fully exploits God's permission to lure him away from the path and who considers even his freedom to act as pre-ordained. It is remarkable that a daring European mystic, Boehme, ventured to place evil within life Divine and to consider it as an abyss which is unfathomable.

Iqbāl's poetry reminds man of what he is and what he can be. Man faces God with confidence and even takes pride in his achievements. While God blames man for disturbing the cosmic harmony man takes on himself the credit of creating civilization:

من آنم که از سنگ آئینه سازم
من آنم که از زهر نوشینه سازم (پیام مشرق)

But civilization cannot come into being without Nature. Man's creativity is not primary but secondary. Civilization cannot develop out of vacuum. A first creation which is Nature should precede a second creation which is civilization. But this is the spirit of revolt characteristic of the modern

man which has found expression in Iqbāl and has fascinated the Muslim youth. In Iqbāl the spirit of complaint (شکوه) speaks more authentically than that of the 'reply' which looks rather like a post script to silence the critic. Iqbāl, Hāfiz and Rūmi of course seem equally disappointed with men they come across. While Iqbāl sings with Rūmi.

کز دیو و دد ملولم و انسانم آرزوست

Hāfiz wistfully longs for a new man to emerge from a new world:

آدم خاکی بدین عالم نمی آید بدست
عالمی دیگر بیايد ساخت از نو آدمی

We cannot say that either Goethe or Iqbāl went through any mystic experience. But Goethe could draw very close to it while Iqbāl consciously kept himself at a distance. Hence it is a remarkable fact that Iqbāl's 'reply' to Goethe does not imbibe so much of Goethe as the German poet's response tells of Hāfiz. Only it is in some of his lyrical exuberance that Iqbāl comes very close to Goethe. His charming poem *Huri and Poet* catches the spirit of Goethe's poem which deals with the same theme and which Iqbāl held as his model. In other words, there is more of Hāfiz in Goethe than there is of Goethe in Iqbāl. This is also equally true of the relationship of Iqbāl to the great Sufi poet Maulana Jalāluddīn Rūmi. The spirit of Rūmi is only partially expressed in Iqbāl and most of his characteristic moments are conspicuous by their absence. It is not the ecstatic Rūmi of the *Diwān* nor the Sufi master of the *Masnawī* but it is Rūmi only in some of his seemingly activist moments who speaks through Iqbāl. If we are not to be misunderstood, we may say that it is rather a Nietzschean interpretation of Rūmi which Iqbāl offers though of course Nietzsche is also appreciated through Iqbāl's own image of Islam.

Iqbāl's is a restless soul which cannot remain satisfied with any finite gain. His quest knows no station; his life knows no halt. To live like a man is to live exposed to dangers, inviting new challenges. Even death does not bring about any break in the continuity of the pilgrim's progress. Nay, man is not assured of immortality as his right; he has to struggle for it as a candidate and his success will depend on the quality of his effort. Every seed that is sown in the earth need not sprout to a new life. It is not only man who is in search of God but God himself is

in search of man. But what is man? Of all the universe it is he whose heart is inflamed with love. It is not the desire (خواهش) which is characteristic of man but his inextinguishable longing (آرزو). Desires are subject to needs and move on the same plane; longing is oriented to new spheres of values and ideals which appear in the human horizon only to shift and recede. Man's longing aims at higher and higher ends. This is the reason why God demands from angels only obedience; but from man as the custodian of 'trust' he demands more, he demands love. His love even in its fulfilment is sustained by the ever present threat of separation.

Unlike the physical worlds with their borders demarcated geographically and disputed politically the worlds of spirit, especially as artistic creations, surprisingly meet even when they appear to develop conflicts and decisively separate even when they seem to converge. The sun which rises and sets again and again in Nature, said the great German philosopher Hegel, remains the same but the sun of the spirit is always different. Our experiences of values always assume different accents and even with the same person they may correspond to different orders. God may be approached at different levels and man may be understood in different ways. But whatever language they may speak and whatever words they may choose, what binds our poets and seers together is their sensitivity to beauty and their commitment to truth. It is only because their art was quickened with love and their life was consumed by its anguish, however different the order of their experience might have been, their everlasting presence is sealed on the record of the ever changing world :

هرگز نمیرد آنکه دلش زنده شد بعشق ثبت است بر جریده عالم دوام ما

An Outline of Indian Aesthetics

Prof. Nagendra

Although Aesthetics had not developed in ancient India as an independent discipline, a sustained tradition of serious speculation on the nature of Beauty and its various aspects could be traced right from the beginning.

Synonyms of Beauty

In Sanskrit language we come across a variety of synonyms for Beauty — such as *cārutva*, *vaicitrya*, *sobhā*, *kānti*, *saṁsthava*, *raṁanīyatā*, *lālitya*, *lāvanya*, *saundarya*, etc. Strangely enough, the use of the word *saundarya* is not very old. In Vedic literature, the word *sundara* or its abstract form *Saundarya* does not appear at all, but there are several other expressive words to denote Beauty — namely *priya*, *pesas*, *citra*, *ranva*, *bhadra*, *madhura* which are profusely used. The word *sundara* appears for the first time in the *Rāmāyana* and then in the *Mahābhārata*, although there, too, it is very rare.

In the treatises on Art which are quite comprehensive in their scope, most of the words mentioned above have been used : *rūpa*, *sobhā*, *vicchiti*, *vaicitrya*, etc. for 'Beauty' and *ramya*, *raṁanīyā*, *manojna*, *manohara*, *citra*, *cāru*, etc. for 'Beautiful'. The word *Sundara* or *Saundarya* also occurs, but no technical meaning is attached to it.

In Poetics, too, although Vāmana and Kuntaka have used the word *saundarya* in a technical sense, the use of other synonyms like *sobhā*, *raṁanīyatā*, *cārutā*, etc. is more frequent. The Indian theorists have, however, evolved some technical terms for Beauty or the aesthetic quality of a word of art — such as *rasa* or *camatkāra*, *dhvani*, *alankāra*, and *vakratā*.

In brief, one could safely state that in Indian literature, technical or otherwise, the word *saundarya*, now commonly used in some of our major languages, was of no particular importance, but a number of other synonyms were freely used right from the ancient times. This variety of colourful synonyms not only evinces the highly developed aesthetic sensibility of the Indian thinker, but also helps a long way in building up a code of Indian Aesthetics on the basis of their connotations which contain some of the most fundamental concepts of Beauty.

Treatment of Beauty

We come across a twofold treatment of Beauty in ancient Indian Literature : i) of Beauty in general and, ii) of Aesthetic Beauty.

Of Beauty in General

Almost all the major concepts regarding beauty in general can be traced in the grammatical formations of its various synonyms — for example :

i) The word *sundara* which means 'appealing to the eye' and *sobhā* which denotes 'lustre' or 'brilliance' convey the idea that *Beauty is a sensuous phenomenon*.

ii) The words *rucira* and *cāru* which denote 'gratification of the taste' suggest that *Beauty is an attribute of the object existing in relation to the experience of the subject*.

iii) Words like *manoḥja*, *manohara*, *Kānta* and *ramanīya*, etc. which mean 'captivating the mind', 'coveted', 'something in which the mind is absorbed' reflect that *the feeling of desire or love is inherent in the concept of Beauty*.

iv) The word *suṣṭhu* connotes the idea of 'proper co-ordination,' 'harmony' and 'orderliness' of parts.

There are hundreds of hymns in the Vedas which contain some of the most powerful descriptions of natural beauty and physical joy. The Vedic poet, who was essentially a seer, describes beauty as an object of sensuous experience, by and large, with lustre, colour and vigour as its main attributes. But he is not less inspired by psychic or spiritual beauty which he describes with the same rapture. Beauty, according to him, is an object of bliss, and infuses new vigour; at the sensuous level it is light and at the spiritual level it is joy. The later thinkers combined these two and defined aesthetic experience as a kind of bliss beaming with the radiance of the spirit (*Sva-prakāśānanda*).

The *Rāmāyana* of Vālmiki is full of lively pen-pictures of all kinds of beauty : natural, human as well as artistic. In the context of nature, the main elements of Beauty are — colour, radiance, purity, variety, novelty, softness, freshness, etc., and in the context of humane personality its basic qualities are proportion, fine constitution, brilliance, richness and ornament.

In the *Mahābhārata*, the historical element dominates over poetic art. Yet its varied descriptions reflect the sensuous and mental aspects of Beauty in abundance. In the description of nature, all the elements of beauty referred to in the *Rāmāyana* are reflected in different ways. The author of the *Mahābhārata* describes the charm of the human body as a unique achievement of life and the charm of the human body, according to him, depends on proportionate limbs and immaculate features —

combined with vigour in the case of a man, and with tenderness in the case of a woman. Ornaments also contribute to the charms of personality and as such they also form part of the aesthetic material. They are, however, not an essential element of Beauty, because the natural attraction of human personality does not depend on them.

In *the Gītā* curiously enough, there is an indirect but remarkable indication of a fundamental principle of Aesthetics. When in response to Arjuna's insistence, Kṛiṣṇa unfolds his Universal Personality before him, he is filled with rapture and wonder. But when that expanding form transcends his psycho-physical capacities, Arjuna is overwhelmed with awe and is completely confounded. This event has been quoted very frequently for its metaphysical import, but its aesthetic implication also is not less significant. It contains, in embryo, a fundamental principle of Aesthetics — viz : for appreciation of Beauty, there should be perfect concordance between the sensuous form of an object and the psycho-physical capacities of the subject—resulting in the harmonization of his impulses. When the sensuous form of an object transgresses the psycho-physical capacities of the subject, there is a break-down of this harmony which ultimately results in the failure of aesthetic sensibility.

The classical Sanskrit literature which was produced after the Epic Age is a treasure-house of Beauty. Besides innumerable exquisite descriptions of Beauty, it contains brilliant reflections on the nature of art and its various aspects. For example, Māgha's dictum,— “that which assume a new form every moment is beauty (*kṣane kṣane unnavatānupaiti tadeva rūpam ramanīyatāyāḥ*)” defines the nature of Beauty. Kālidāsa's famous verse — “the creator gave her a form by means of his imagination after assembling all the elements of beauty in a picture” (*citre nivesya parikalpita sattvayoga, rupocayena manasā vidhina kṛtānu*) describes the process of creation of Beauty, whereas several piquant expressions of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti analyse the quality of aesthetic experience in a significant manner. These reflections of the creative genius of the highest order occupy an important place in Indian Aesthetics.

Indian Philosophy, strangely enough, does not deal with Beauty directly, whereas the Western philosophers have reflected on the ‘*nature and forms*’ of sensuous as well as ideal Beauty right from the beginning. The Indian mind has concentrated on the ‘*experience*’ of Beauty viz. *ānanda*. Nevertheless, there are certain theories in our systems of Philosophy which have deeply influenced the aesthetic speculations of Indian critics.

Devotional literature in India is characterized by the concept of Divine Beauty. The Beautiful Personality of the Creator as reflected in the Universe is an object of transcendental love. In Vedic literature as well,

the Divine Beauty has been described as the fountain-head of all the forms of terrestrial beauty, but that concept is abstract. In devotional literature, it has been endowed with a preceptible human form. This conception of Divine Beauty in a human form is an event in the history of Indian aesthetics. This system of the Philosophy of Divine Beauty is a unique feature of Indian aesthetics, the like of which does not exist in any other language of the world.

Treatment of Artistic Beauty

References to artistic beauty, direct and indirect, are available in Indian literature almost from the very beginning. The word *Kalā* (art) itself does not occur in the Vedas in the technical sense, but references to various arts — poetry, music (vocal and instrumental), dance, painting, sculpture and architecture are scattered all over. The art of language i.e. poetry has been discussed at a number of places where all the major aspects of aesthetics viz. the nature of Beauty in its diverse forms — sensuous, imaginative, divine and physical — the motivating forces of art-creation, aesthetic experience, function and the media material, i.e. the word and the sense, the figure of speech, rhythm and metre, etc. have been analysed with a fine insight. The art of music, hailed as the *Nāda-Brahma* i.e. the sound form of the Supreme Being, has been treated in detail in the *Sāmaveda* which is the fountain-head of classical musicology. The plastic arts such as architecture, sculpture and painting are also mentioned in various contexts; but the Vedic poetic-seer was more attracted towards the Divine Craft than towards the man-made crafts, and therefore, these arts do not, find a prominent place in Vedic literature. According to an eminent indologist, some of the Vedic art-symbols like the *pūrṇa-kumbha* (the full pitcher), *Kalpa-vrkṣa* (the elysian tree), *Devāsura* (gods & demons) *Śrī-Lakṣmi* (the goddess of wealth) have deeply influenced classical architecture, sculpture and painting in India in theory as well as in practice.

The *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* contain detailed descriptions of the works of fine arts of all kinds which prove that during the Epic Age architecture, sculpture, painting, music and dance, besides poetry, of course, were greatly developed. These descriptions refer directly or indirectly to all the salient features of art, such as harmony, coherence, symmetry, colour-combination, richness, ornamentation, rhythm, liveliness, etc. Art is essentially a mental creation and its success lies in communicating the motive of the artist : this basic principle of art has been stated in very clear terms both in the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*. In the context of the *Gandharva-tattva* or the Science of Music, a number of technical terms like *sama*, *tāla*, *laya*, etc. are repeated quite frequently and some very important observations have been made in regard to the theory of poetry. For example, the opening verse of the *Rāmāyana* is an effective

exposition of this basic truth that emotion is the main spring of poetry and that the impact of a powerful emotion creates a rhythmic movement in the language, which ultimately assumes the form of metre.

The contribution of the classical poets was all the more significant. Besides poetry and also drama which were their own fields of activity these poets had a fine understanding of other arts as well, such as music, dance, painting, sculpture, etc., and have made brilliant observations about them. Kālidāsa was a poet of beauty par excellence ; he was an aesthete in the highest sense of the term and his reflections on the various problems of artistic beauty are superb.

He makes use of the first couplet in the *Rāmāyana* to establish the emotive basis of poetry by re-affirming that it was Vālmiki's grief which was really converted into a poem. Bāna, Bhavabhuti, Śrīharṣa and Subandhu are other poet-artists whose statements about art are equally significant. Bhavabhuti, for instance, has underlined the basic unity of artistic experience and Bāna has pointed out the essential elements of artistic expression in unmistakable terms.

Although Aesthetics never formed part of Indian Philosophy, it has borrowed some of its basic principles from *Yoga*, *Nyāya*, *Sāṅkhya* and *Vedānta*. For example, the conception of the basic sentiments underlying the *Rasas* have been influenced by the analysis of the nature of *Sanskāra* (inherent impulses) given in the *Yoga*. The definition of *Smṛti* (memory) and *Upamiti* (likeness) given in the *Nyāya* and the conception of *Rūpa* (form) in the *Sāṅkhya* have been duly exploited by the later theorists of art. *Vedānta* has contributed three important principles to the Theory of Beauty : (a) Art is different from other material objects in the sense that it is neither real nor unreal. (b) The existence of art is only apparent and not tangible. (c) Expression is one complete entity and cannot be split into parts.

India has a rich tradition of the Theory of Fine Arts. From the 6th-7th to the 18th century A.D., quite a large number of encyclopaedic treatises were written in Sanskrit which deal with various aspects of all the major fine arts: their definitions and essential features, inter-relation, content, divine and secular motifs, functions, media-material, etc. Their approach, however, is mainly technical, i.e., they have treated the techniques of arts in great detail and referred to the essential problems of aesthetics rather casually. The most important topic from the aesthetic point of view is the inter-relation of arts which has been discussed in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* for the first time. Order, symmetry and life-like imitation of nature are essential qualities of art, but its soul is *Rasa*, and therefore *Rasa* and *Rasa-drṣṭi* have been discussed at length in the context of all arts — sculpture, painting and dance. About the purpose or function of art, the Indian

theorist is quite clear in his mind. It cannot be denied that religion has been the source of inspiration of almost all the arts: architecture has been pursued as a form of worship of '*Vāstu-Brahma*', music as a mode of spiritual exercise — the worship of the '*Nāda-Brahma*', and sculpture and painting are inspired by the urge to give a form to the Formless. At the secular level also, the importance of fine arts has not been under-rated: art has been described as an ornament of civic life or civilized living which leads to happiness and prosperity and refines sensibility.

On the whole, the approach of these writers to the Theory of Art is conventional by and large which gives priority to tradition over individual talent. Since they wrote or compiled their works after Indian Poetics was properly developed, they have drawn freely on the theories of *Rasa*, *Dhvani* and *Alankāra* and as such their original contribution to aesthetics is rather insignificant in comparison to the achievement of the master-poeticians. Although all the fine arts, namely, architecture, sculpture, painting, music and dance have been discussed in most of the treatises in one single volume they could not build up a common code for all art, inspite of the fact that they had recognized their inter-relationship quite in the earlier stages. The obvious reason for this failure was that they were primarily engrossed in technical details and treated the fundamentals of art rather casually.

The investigator has ultimately to fall back upon Poetics which is really the core of Indian Aesthetics. The works on Indian Poetics don't deal with any of the fine arts mentioned above: at the most they are referred to in illustrating some principles or as source-material for poetry. But the subtlety and depth with which these theorists have treated various aspects of Beauty expressed through the medium of sound and sense are rarely found elsewhere. This treatment is so complete and profound that some of the basic principles of Aesthetics which are being propounded by Western scholars now, were anticipated by Indian masters about a thousand years ago.

The formulation of the theories of *Rasa* (the principle of emotive appeal), *Alankāra* (figurative use of language), *Dhvani* (the principle of suggestiveness of art), *Rīti* (diction) and *Vakrokti* (artistic expression) is the result of an age-long enquiry into the nature and the essentials of Beauty. It is true that this enquiry is limited only to the forms of Beauty expressed through language, but its findings are so fundamental and comprehensive that they are equally applicable to all arts.

Therefore, the code of Indian Aesthetics can be built mainly on the foundation of Poetics; and there is nothing strange about it because the same thing has happened in the West as well. The other sources can be (i) Indian Poetry which teems with exquisite pen-pictures of beauty in

all forms and shades, (ii) Indian Philosophy — especially the Śaivite Monism — which dwells on Eternal Beauty or Joy as the final reality (iii) the conception by Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas of Divine Beauty possessed of human attributes and (iv) lastly, of course, the treatises on Fine Arts. But, these other sources, I repeat, are secondary and can be helpful only to a limited extent because their basic concepts are all found in the works on Poetics.

Special Features of Indian Aesthetics

Indian Aesthetics is an integrated discipline which treats of Beauty in the perspective of other values of life. It gives an independent status to Beauty in so far as it is not merged in other values—such as *Dharma* (ethical values), *Artha* (economic values) and *Kāma* (emotional values). Beauty is intimately connected with emotional values; but its identity is revealed only when it transcends the emotion, because emotion is not beauty. Besides, emotional values themselves are not absolute values: they are supported by economic values and governed by moral values and culminate in spiritual values. In this sequence, Beauty also is integrated with economic, moral and spiritual values through the medium of emotional values: it is nourished by other values of life and in return lends richness and colour to them. All the Indian arts—architecture, sculpture, painting, music and poetry are linked with economic and emotional values at one end and with more and spiritual value at the other. In architecture, we have on the one hand royal buildings which reflect opulence and pleasures of life, and temples, on the other hand, which symbolize peace of mind and elevation of the soul. Architecture and painting also embrace these two extremes simultaneously: the erotic paintings and images which adorn many a famous temple, bear witness to the fact that in Indian art there is a fusion of different—nay, ever apparently conflicting values. Music and poetry also corroborate this thesis: the erotic and the ethical aspects of life are reflected in them almost side by side. Thus, Indian concept of Beauty is integrated with Life in its totality: the dichotomy of aesthetic and moral values which has been so prominent in Western culture and literature did not assume great proportions in India at any stage.

The philosophy of Beauty is linked up integrally with the philosophy of Joy in India. Although the formal or the objective view is not entirely absent here, Art has been defined, by and large, as a spiritual activity. The original principle of Art in India has been the urge to give a finite form to the formless infinite. The creative joy of the Supreme Consciousness results in the Divine or the Cosmic Art—i.e. the Universe, and the creative joy of the individual consciousness gives birth to human art. Thus, like Indian Idealism, Indian Aesthetics also

stresses the integral relationship between the soul and the body. Just as the soul manifests itself through the body, in the same way human consciousness expresses itself through art-forms: the art-form is, therefore, as indivisible as human personality. This integration of the emotive content, the symbol and the form, is reflected in all arts ranging from poetry to architecture, in which the Idea or the Sentiment and the Form are inseparably united. In spite of a legitimate emphasis on the Sentiment, the importance of Form has not been underestimated : the detailed analyses of the constituents of Form in all the classical works on Theory of Poetry and Fine Arts are unmistakable proofs of this statement. Between *Rasa* or the Sentiment which is the soul and *Rīti-cum-Alankāra* or the Poetic Diction which is the body, Indian Aesthetics has built up the bridge of *Dhvani*, i.e. the imaginative symbol which paves the gulf between the two. The integration of the soul and the body of Art has been established in Indian Aesthetics without effort — in the same natural manner as the integration of Beauty and other values of life.

Thus, Indian Aesthetics is a philosophy of integration or harmony, in which all tensions are resolved. Its essence is the identification of Beauty and Joy : it is Beauty in terms of expression and Joy at the level of experience.

Persian Embassy to the Court of Gujarat

S. A. I. Tirmizi

Bordering the littoral bed of the Arabian Sea from the Rann of Kutch to the port of Māhim (present Bombay), the Sultanate of Gujarat (810-980/1407-1573) was the first powerful maritime kingdom in the Indian subcontinent to bear the brunt of the rising naval-commercial power of the Portuguese who had circumvented the Cape of Good Hope in 1497 A.D. In less than a decade they succeeded in diverting bulk of the spice trade from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf to the new Cape route affecting thereby seriously the custom-houses of the Mamluks of Egypt, Ottomans of Asia Minor, Safavids of Persia and Muzaffarids of Gujarat whose common commercial interests brought them together in their confrontations with the Portuguese. The struggle for supremacy in the Indian Ocean commenced in 912/1507 when Qansuhul-Ghawari, the last Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, sent a combined fleet under Amīr Husain Kurdi, Governor of Jedda and Salmān Ra'īs, Ottoman Admiral, for extirpation of the Portuguese from the Indian waters. This fleet anchored at Chaul.¹

As soon as Sultan Mahmūd Begarah of Gujarat came to know about the arrival of this fleet he rushed to Māhim. It was about this time that he received a letter from the Wāli of Hurmuz describing the atrocities perpetuated by the Portuguese. Mahmūd Begarah, therefore, sent the Flotilla of Gujarat under Malik Ayāz, the Governor of Junagadh and Diu, to help the allies against the common foe. This great confederacy of the allies succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on the Portuguese Fleet under Dom Lorenzo in a naval battle fought at Chaul in Ramadān, 913/January, 1508. This great naval victory of the allies over their 'Firangi Foe' was celebrated with great jubilation and it enhanced the ever increasing maritime importance of the Sultanate of Gujarat in the Indian subcontinent.² This can well be visualised from the fact that in the following year Sikandar Lodi of Delhi (894-923/1489-1517) sent an embassy to the Court of Gujarat with presents for Mahmūd Begarah. This was not without diplomatic significance in as much as it was for the first time that the Sultan of Delhi sent presents to the Sultan of Gujarat.³ It is pertinent to note in this connection that Sikandar Lodi is reported to have remarked

that the magnificence of the kingdom of Delhi rested on wheat and barley whilst that of Gujarat on coal and pearl as it had eighty-four ports under its control.⁴

II

While Gujarat was ruled over by Mahmūd Begarah, Ismā'īl Safavi succeeded in attracting to his banner many *Shī'i* Turcsmans from Asia Minor, Cilicia and Syria to whose military support he largely owed his success in leading a campaign into Tabriz where he enthroned himself as Shāh of Azarbaijan at the beginning of 907/July, 1501. Subsequently he succeeded in making Shī'ism the faith of Persia over the whole of which he gradually extended his sway.⁵

The establishment of Safavids in Persia almost synchronised with the rise of Ottomans under Salīm I in Asia Minor, Uzbegs under Shaibāni Khān in Tūrān, Ilkhānids in Khurasan and Mughals (Chaghtāi Turk) in India. Of these the Ottoman Turks, the Uzbegs and the Mughals were orthodox Sunni while the Ilkhānids and the Safavids were Shī'ites. Ismā'īl Safavi's ambition of extending Shī'ism beyond the borders of his kingdom was frustrated by the crushing defeat which Salīm I inflicted on him in 1514 A.D. at Chaldirān.⁶

There was yet another point of friction. The land route to the holy cities of Mecca and Madīna in Hijāz had become unsafe for the pilgrims since the collapse of the Timurid empire and was blocked from time to time by the Shī'ite Safavids of Persia. The pilgrims, therefore, had to change from land to the sea route, but the latter was controlled by Christian Portuguese who dominated the high seas since the discovery of the Cape route. The pilgrims from Central Asia and India had to pay exorbitant passage-money or undergo religious persecution.⁷

These socio-religious and politico-commercial conflicting interests of the Ottomans of Asia Minor, Uzbegs of Tūrān, Safavids of Persia and Muzaffarīds of Gujarat led to ever-changing alliances, but in the beginning of the sixteenth century the interests of all of them were menaced by the Portuguese.

The naval victory which Mahmūd Begarah had scored over the Portuguese at Chaul in 913/1508, with the help of the allies, had undoubtedly enhanced the prestige of the Muzaffarīds of Gujarat throughout Asia. Impressed by the increasing maritime and commercial importance of Gujarat, Ismā'īl Safavi sent an embassy to the court of Mahmūd Begarah.

III

This embassy was led by Yādgār Beg Qizilbāsh⁸ who with a body of Qizilbāshes⁹ reached Gujarat in 917/1511.¹⁰ Mahmūd Begarah ordered all necessary preparations to be made for the reception¹¹ of the embassy¹² but before the envoy cou'd arrive at the capital Mahmūd Begarah passed away on Monday, Ramadān 2, 917/November 23, 1511¹³ and on the following day prince Khalīl Khān, eldest son of the late Sultan, ascended the throne with the title of Abun-Nasr Shamsud-Dīn Muzaffar Shāh II.¹⁴

When the new Sultan came to know that the Persian envoy with his team of forty Qizilbāshes had been waiting near the capital for some time, he deputed Malikush-Sharq Hamīdul-Mulk and Qutbul-Mulk along with other nobles to receive the ambassador at some distance from the metropolis and to escort him and his suite to the place fitted up for his reception. In honouring the ambassador no minutiae was omitted.¹⁵

The first audience took place in Shawwāl, 917/ December 1511. The ambassador delivered his credentials and some of the rarities of Persia which he had brought with him. Such rarities included a turquoise cup of great value, a chest full of jewels, many precious tissues and thirty Iraqi horses. Muzaffar II received the ambassador with great favour and bestowed on him and his suite rich *Khila'ats* or robes of honour. Thereafter, the Sultan desired that they should be suitably lodged and a guard be posted at the embassy for the protection of its inmates.¹⁶ Enjoying full diplomatic immunities, Yādgār Beg Qizilbāsh came to be popularly called by the people of Gujarat as *Surkh Kulah*, or Red-Cap.¹⁷

During his residence at Champāner, the then capital of Gujarat, the Persian ambassador contracted a close intimacy with fugitive prince Muhammad of Mālwa who possessed a jewel of great value which he wished to buy but could not do so because of the exorbitant price claimed by the Prince, and the two quarrelled over the bargain. In the evening the young and inexperienced prince went with a small following to meet one of his old servants who lived in the same house as the Persian envoy. The latter was told by some strife-monger that the prince intended to take to flight after robbing him of his property and advised the envoy to place the prince in confinement for the night.¹⁸ Imprudently enough the envoy shut the doors of the house and at midnight carried off the prince to his own apartments and at day-break the prince managed to escape. Excited and affronted he collected his retainers and set afloat a rumour that a *Farman* had been issued to

plunder all the Qizilbāshes. No sooner did this rumour get abroad, crowds gathered in front of the residence of the ambassador where all Qizilbāshes had already collected to defend the house. In the riot that followed the Qizilbāshes were overpowered by numbers. The door was burst open, a number of Qizilbāshes were slain, the buildings were set on fire and the miscreants set out to plunder.¹⁹

When the report of the riot reached the court, Muzaffar lost no time in despatching Malikush-Sharq with the royal elephants to put down the riot as also to see that no harm was done to the Qizilbāshes. Malikush-Sharq came down heavily on the rioters, punished the miscreants and succeeded in restoring peace. He escorted the envoy to the royal palace where the Sultan at once provided him with rooms.²⁰

The envoy complained that his losses in cash and kind amounted to six lakhs of Gujarati *Tankahs* (each Gujarati *Tankah* equivalent to eight Murādi *Tankahs*). Muzaffar immediately paid the amount from his treasury. On Friday, the 14th Ramadān, 918/6th December, 1512 the ambassador received another lakh of *Tankahs* and valuable *Khil'ats*. On the eve of the diplomat's departure Khurāsān Khān was deputed to escort him so that the sense of his injury might be mitigated. Seven formidable elephants, some boxes of wondrous horse-armour, birds and beasts including a wolf, various strange and curious things, embroidered fabrics and other goods, were entrusted to Khurāsān Khān to be delivered to Shāh Ismā'il Safavi. Two large ships were provided to convey the ambassador and his suite. Moreover, an enormous quantity of all things required for the voyage were made available to the departing diplomat.²¹

IV

From what has been stated above it is evident that Shāh Ismā'il Safavi of Persia sent an embassy under Yādgār Beg Qizilbāsh to the maritime independent state of Gujarat which had by the beginning of the sixteenth century become not only an emporium of commerce but had also emerged triumphant in its struggle with the Portuguese who had suffered a crushing naval defeat near Chaul, at the hands of the combined forces of the Mamluks of Egypt, Ottomans of Asia Minor and Muzaffarids of Gujarat. When the Persian embassy reached Gujarat it was accorded a warm welcome. While enjoying all diplomatic immunities the envoy got entangled in a private feud with prince Muhammad of Mālwa and in the riot that followed the Qizilbāshes suffered heavy losses. When Muzaffar came to know about this incident he not only put down

the riot with a heavy hand but also made good all the damages suffered by the embassy. It would, therefore, not be wrong to conclude that the diplomatic relations between the Shī'i Safavids and Sunni Muzaffarīds were governed by commercial and political considerations rather than sectarian differences.

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3. Nizāmud-Dīn, *Tabaqāt-i Akbari*, Vol. III (Calcutta), pp. 171-72; Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II (Poona, 1832), 404.
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- 5-6. Laurence Lockhart, *The Fall of the Safavi Dynasty and the Afghan Occupation of Persia*, (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 19-20.
7. Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan* (OUP., 1967), pp. 1-2.
8. Sikandar gives the name of the envoy as Mīr Ibrāhīm Khān, but according to Nizāmud-Dīn and Firishta his name was Yādgār Beg Qizilbāsh. Sikandar, *op. cit.* 174; Nizāmud-Dīn, *op. cit.* 172; Firishta, *op. cit.*, 404.
9. Shaikh Haidar, father of Ismā'īl, gave to his Sūfi partisans, who were all Shī'i Turcomans, the famous Scarlet Cap with 12 scallops or gores (one for each of the twelve Imāms) which earned for them the appellation of *Qizilbāsh* (Red-Head), Lockhart, *op. cit.*, 19.

10. Nizāmud-Dīn, *op. cit.*, III. p. 172.
11. According to Nizāmud-Dīn and Firishta Mahmūd Begaroh expressed a pious wish that God might not show him the face of the Qizilbāsh who was an enemy of the companions of the Holy Prophet and this actually happened for he died before Yādgār Mīrzā could reach the capital. Nizāmud-Dīn *op. cit.*, 172, Firishta, *op. cit.*, 404. This is not corroborated by Hājiud-Dabīr who being local historian was in a better position to know the truth. (Hājiud-Dabir, *op. cit.*, I, 97).
12. Hājiud-Dabīr, *op. cit.*, I, p. 88.
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The Punjabis and their Iranian Heritage

Prof. Gurbachan Singh Talib

Punjab among the regions of the Indian sub-continent has perhaps absorbed the largest share of the all-important language aspect of the Iranian culture and retained it through the centuries, down to the most popular level. While Persian or Perso-Arabic vocabulary is found in varying degrees of admixture in all the languages of northern, central and western India, and is traceable—though in a trickle— even in the language of Punjab is remarkable indeed. Such vocabulary from the western, that is, Iranian source as we have, is of course, of the Muslim period of conquests and large-scale immigrations. Whatever vocabulary must have come in the pre-Islamic period from that source (and considering that between north-western India and Iran there has been a long millennia-old history of contact, there must have been large-scale mutual influences) has in the course of time been assimilated to the vocabulary acquired in post-Islamic periods.

Punjab not only was the earliest part of India that felt the impact of the invasions of Mahmūd of Ghazni, whose successors established their rule over the region, but it was also the host country that gave shelter to Muslim scholars, divines and saintly men who in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries left their homes in Central Asia to escape the Mongol terror. It was thus subjected to a long-continuing process of the fusion of cultures, of which apart from *mores* and the external aspects of civilized living, language proved to be a widespread and abiding influence. The conquests from the north-west ceased, the refugee scholars and saints settled down in the Punjab, spread over the length of India to the east and towards the centre, and became naturalized in this land—but the influences that came with them have remained. The tide of the incoming civilization rose high and as it receded, it left scattered in its wake tremendous linguistic influences, which may be seen in the vocabulary and speech habits of the commonest people.

The invaders and immigrants who came in the Muslim times from the north-west were not exclusively or even overwhelmingly Iranians.

They were a mixed lot of Turks, Afghans, Iranians, Mongols and others. But all of them, even when they had overrun Iran in invasions, had adopted the Iranian culture and been conquered by its richness, intellectual depth and charm. The entire apparatus of civilized life, thought and poetry that was adopted by these races which had accepted Islam at various periods, was Iranian. The noble Pahlavi language, which in the course of centuries of the national Sassanian rule and previous to this also had been the great cultural instrument of a vast empire and a great civilization, was geared now to the expression of a new *Weltanschauung* given by Islam, and started on its new career as *Farsi* (*Parsi*). Arabic gave it a further philosophical reach and Iranian scholars at the Abbasid Baghdad court made both Arabic and Persian great instruments of a new civilization, in which influences from the Hellenic culture were assimilated to make a new fusion and synthesis. What came to Punjab (and India) in the wake of the post-Islamic invasions and immigration was the Persian synthesized with Arabic, holding a vocabulary that was derived from each source. Arabic vocabulary in common use was so completely naturalized in Persian that it became indistinguishable from it, except to scholars. The vocabulary that came to the Punjab was this Perso-Arabic mixture. The pre-Islamic vocabulary from Iran, such as it came to the Punjab, got mixed up with the local vocabulary, as in its *Prākṛit* and *Apabhramsha* forms it was in any case an Aryan language, like the pre-Islamic Pahlavi and other forms of the language of Iran.

It is easy to descant on the spread in India of the scholarship that came via Persian. Such scholarship was shared both by Muslims and non-Muslims and thousands upon thousands of the learned of various grades who were accomplished in such scholarship, have flourished in India from the thirteenth century on. As far as learning goes, Punjab has perhaps not been in the forefront of it, at least in numbers and extent. While there have been centres of Muslim (that is Perso-Arabic) learning in Punjab, such as Lahore, Multan, Uch, Pak-Pattan, Sirhind, Thānesar, Hānsi (and in later times Batāla), the Punjabis as a whole have not been conspicuous for producing front-rank Persian scholars whose work might command national or international recognition. For scholars of such calibre one has to look to Delhi, called at one time *Qubbatul-Islam* (High Dome of Islam) and further east, in what is now known as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal. Later still, a great centre of Islamic learning developed in Hyderabad, close to the South of India. It is not, therefore, for learning or academic excellence that Punjab may be said to be remarkable in this context.

What constitutes the peculiar quality of Punjab as far as the assimilation of the language influences from wave after wave of Perso-

phile immigrants is concerned, is the penetration of the language from this source to the common masses; who might not even be aware that a major part of the vocabulary they are using is Persian or Perso-Arabic. So great has been this linguistic influence that words from this source have driven out native words, which now are found either at dialect level only, or are used in conjunction with the words from the new source. Or, the Perso-Arabic word and its local near-synonym are used to denote different shades of meaning.

Words become part of a language, remain embedded in its poetry or its popular proverbs, and wherever these can be assigned to particular historical epochs, become valuable sources of history. In the Punjab, there are two old, authentic literary documents, dating from five centuries or more, that help to indicate the penetration of the Perso-Arabic vocabulary into the speech of the common folk of the Punjab. There are first, the Punjabi spiritual poetry of Baba Shaykh Farīd Ganj-i Shakar, which is found recorded in other pages of the Sikh Scripture, *Adi Granth* and second, the spiritual teaching in the form of hymns and philosophical pieces of Guru Nānak (1469-1539). Shaykh Farīd lived from 1173 to 1265. At that historically early period, the Perso-Arabic vocabulary is found used in a familiar manner, indicating that it was intelligible to the common folk, and was part of their stock of knowledge and so to say, current coin among them. Here the reference is not to the vocabulary of theology and religion, which would be known only to Muslim with a fair grounding in Islamic thought, but to common everyday words that were assimilated by all Muslims and non-Muslims and indicated no religious adhesion or theological grounding of any kind. The same is true of Guru Nānak's compositions, in which by his time (late fifteenth and early sixteenth century) the Perso-Arabic vocabulary had been thoroughly acclimitized in the thought-structure of the common folk. That influence, found then more than five centuries ago (for Guru Nānak was only using the vocabulary that was already established and familiar) has lasted till today in the speech of the people of the Punjab, and despite a century of British rule with influences from English, shows no sign of declining.

Whenever Punjabi is spoken even for a minute, some words from the Perso-Arabic sources, albeit in popular, non-academic forms, must get used. A vast list could be compiled of such vocabulary-nouns, adjectives, words derived and formed from various roots and others in compound forms. *Adi Granth*, the scripture of the Sikh faith, would yield a large volume of vocabulary from this source. As said earlier, of the sources of such words the average speaker is not aware. Even people of some

education, designate all such words as 'Persian' (*Farsi*) even when they might be Arabic. It is only the specialist and the scholar who is aware of the difference.

To illustrate the point being made in this article would take a whole volume. I shall close it with only a few obvious instances. *Mard* in Punjabi is both 'man', 'husband' and heroic person. '*Banda*' is exclusively 'man', 'human being.' Both *aurat* (A) and *Zanāni* are 'woman' *Zenāna* is woman's portion of any place, or any object pertaining to women. *Pārchā* is a piece of paper, while *jāmā* is any kind of ceremonial dress. *Dastār* and *Sirdār* are in common use in Punjabi. *Badan* and *tan* are commonly used for the body. *Jānwar* is animal or a brutish human being. For tree, *darakht* is commonly used. Consider *Rāh*, *durust*, *zabān*, *hosh*, *jān*, *jāni*, *khayāl* (A), *khush*, *doost* (pronounced *dost*), *dushman*, *yār*, *roz*, *pīr*, *makān* (A), *jagah*, *zar*, *zamīn*, *zamindār*, *sūd*, *sharāb* (A), *nasha*, (A), *nek* (*neki*), *bad* (*badi*) etc. etc. The list may be stretched on and on. In their use in Punjabi, a number of words have acquired new shades of signification. Thus, '*neki-badi*' in idiomatic use means 'chances, risks', *zabān* means 'word, promise' *rāh* means 'methods, plan' and so on.

Zinda with the Punjabi enunciation, *zindagi* in almost the correct Persian form, *dānā* (grain, wise man) *bachcha*, *darya* (meaning river) *jādu* *jādugar*, *dil*, *bimār*, *bīmāri*, are again common current coin. *Nāma* is used as a compound suffix. *Mauj* (A) in Punjabi is a wave of hilarity, euphoria—a metaphorically stretched use of the original. From the Arabic through Persian have come such words in common mass use as *kitāb* (*katāb*), *qarzat*, *zamānat*, *zāmin*, *arzi*, *da'wa*, *hakīm* (for physician) *hākim*, *dawā*, *muhabbat*, *kurbān*. *kār*, *tan*, are common to Sanskrit and Persian, and coming from the earlier source, have got confirmed as Persian became current.

A successful hero of the arena is known as *Rustam-i-Hind* or *Rustam-i-Zamān* according to his degree of achievement. *Bābā* is a word expressing respect and love, and is now perhaps more Punjabi than Persian. So is *Rabb*, coming from the Hebrew via Arabic and Persian. *Dāra* is a favourite name in the Punjab. *Bahrām Gūr* is one of the favourite heroes of the popular romantic literature in Punjab as *Shāh Bahrām*, whose *qissa* is related in popular gatherings. *Dev* which in Persian means monster, is used in its Punjabi form of *deq*, in this sense, in contradiction to its Sanskrit meaning of 'god'. No Punjabi would fail to be moved by the description of *pari* or the application of this term to woman whom he fancies. *Qatal* (A) and *jang* are part of daily parlance. So are *murgā*, *tāj*, *takht*, *takhta*, *Shāh*, *pādshāh*,

nawaisht, *raushani*, (*roshani*), *chirāg*, *buzurg*, *sawār*, *sawāri*. *Insan* (A) is used in the specialized sense of a decent human being. The universal phenomenon of *zindagi* is common, so is *maut* (A). Its Persian equivalent *marg* is part of the common tongue of the Punjab as *margat*.

The result of this common bond of language is that a Punjabi in Iran, Afghanistan or those parts of central Asia where the cultural tongue is Persian, will find himself in a familiar, brotherly atmosphere. It is a pity our younger generation is losing touch with this valuable heritage. Serious efforts should be made both by Iran and India not to let it vanish.

The nature and dimensions of Sabk-i Hindi

Dr. Waris Kirmani

To understand the nature of *Sabk-i Hindi* and its dimensions, one has to imagine the vast area of land extending from India to Turkey where Persian was spoken and understood in the sixteenth century. This area comprised three great empires, two of which had given Persian the status of the official language. First, the Mughal empire of India consisted of a part of present-day Afghanistan and almost the whole of the Indian sub-continent, excluding a small area in the South. The second empire was founded by the Safavid dynasty of Iran; its vast domain was much larger than present-day Iran. The third empire, Ottoman Turkey, extended from Asia Minor up to the eastern regions of Europe. Within its borders Persian was widely spoken, though never officially adopted as the state language. In addition to its extensive usage among Mughals, Safavids, and Ottomans, Persian was patronized by independent Muslim dynasties in Central Asia and South India.

The term *Sabak-i Hindi* has been applied to the special style of Persian writing which originated during the 16th century and was in full swing up to the 19th century. *Sabk-i Hindi* has sometimes been misunderstood, as would appear from its literal translation, to be an exclusively Indian style of Persian. This is a wrong assumption. In fact, certain periods in the history of Persian literature have been dominated by the writers of a particular region, and the style of Persian writing in that period has been named after that region or country. The earliest style of Persian writing, for instance, has been named *Sabk-i Khurāsāni* because most of the early poets like Rūdaki, 'Unsurī and Farrukhi belonged to Khurāsān. Later the centre of Persian poetry shifted to southern Iran, where Sa'di and Hāfiz lived. Hence the style of Persian writing during this period has been termed *Sabk-i 'Irāqi* or *Sabk-i Irani*. With the emergence of the Herat school and later with the foundation of the Mughal empire in India, the situation again changed. During this time Persian achieved a special position at the Delhi court which it did not enjoy even in Isfahan and Shiraz.¹ It was the special favour and patronage enjoyed by the Persian language in India which attracted a large number of poets

and writers from the North-west and resulted in a dearth of literary talent in Iran and Central Asia. One has only to look at the contemporary *tazkiras* and other books, especially Abul-Fazl's *A'in-i Akbari* for the long list of such immigrant poets coming in waves and seeking patronage of one *Amir* or the other at Agra and lesser governing centres of the Mughal empire.² This mass exodus of educated Persian-speaking people had made India a centre of Oriental learning renowned throughout Asia, and hence the literary forms and fashions introduced here were quickly adopted and zealously emulated in the adjacent countries.

Sabk-i Hindi should not, therefore, be regarded as an exclusively Indian style but rather a style emanating from India to the Persian-speaking world with a view to making other peoples equal participants in its rich and variegated literary experiment.

The latter half of the sixteenth century has generally been regarded as the period when *Sabk-i Hindi* became well established. Though imprecisely defined, *Sabk-i Hindi* could be traced back into the fifteenth century and even earlier. It had started taking shape in the Timurid period in Khurasan and its founders belonged to the renowned school of Herat. Later on when Babur conquered India and shifted his capital from Kabul to Delhi, *Sabk-i Hindi* also found its way to India. Babur and the writers of his age were greatly influenced by the Herat school. Babur himself mentions the names of Jāmi and 'Ali Sher Nawā'i in his memoirs and pays glowing tributes to their learning and scholarship.³ Iranian scholars have noted that Jāmi displayed most of the literary characteristics that later on developed into *Sabk-i-Hindi*.⁴ His emphasis on diction and artistic devices at the cost of thought content made an impact on following generations and led them to indulge in artificial poetry of the genre now described as *Sabk-i Hindi*.

Babur and his successor Humayun, however, were too busy with military campaigning to devote attention to widescale efforts in literature or any branch of the fine arts. It was only after the political stabilisation of the Mughal empire achieved during the reign of Akbar that art and literature came to the forefront. Poets and scholars were encouraged to take up ambitious programmes, and many projects of translation and original writings obtained state patronage. Having both leisure and luxury, the poets and writers of this period tried to attract the king and his nobles by a display of their craftsmanship. They indulged in a kind of writing, both in prose and poetry, which can be distinguished from literature of an earlier period on account of its elaborate style as well as emotional texture: it embodies a peculiar way of feeling and a

heightened imagination novel to this period. In poetic diction, new metaphors and phrases studded with rhetorical devices were introduced to give expression ~~to give expression~~ to quaint ideas and exaggerated statements.⁵

The Mughals were in constant touch with the North-western countries. They rather took up the old contacts with renewed enthusiasm in the period of durable peace which followed Akbar's accession to the throne. *Sabk-i Hindi*, consequently, travelled back to the North-west in a more embellished form through the cultural and political intercourse made possible during the Mughal period. India, moreover, continued to play a dominant role in the growth and development of this style because Akbar had launched an ambitious programme of both translation and original writing in Persian. *Akbarnāma*, '*Ayār-i Dānish*, *Muntakhabut-tawārīkh* and *Ma'āsir-i Rahīmī* are only some books which represent the original work of high quality produced at this time. The translation projects which were simultaneously undertaken have no parallel in Indo-Muslim history. Eminent scholars of Persian and Sanskrit were employed in this task. They took up the translation of master pieces from classical Sanskrit literature, such as the enormous *Mahābhārata*, and among smaller works, the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, *Rāmāyana*, *Atharva Veda*, *Līlāvati* and *Singhāsan Battisi*. As a result, Persian literature was enriched with the ancient wisdom of India and itself became a channel for the integration of different communities living in this vast country. One has also to take into account the many books related to Sufism which were produced in this period. Nor was the outburst of Persian literary activity limited to Northern India. The far flung states of the Deccan also contributed their share to enrich the Persian language; it was from this region that originated, for instance, the famous *Tārīkh-i Firīšta* and *Seh Nasr-i Zuhūrī*.

The literary renaissance sweeping Mughal India stands in bold contrast to the situation outside India. In this period we find a state of constant warfare among the powers of Iran, Turkey and Central Asia. The rulers of these countries had little time to patronise art and literature on account of their preoccupation with the grinding demands of military warfare. The conflict between Sunni and Shi'ite parties added fuel to the territorial claims of opposing forces. Not surprisingly, many poets, writers and sufis left their war-torn homes and took shelter in India, where a tolerant and generous atmosphere pervaded throughout the long reign of Akbar.

If *Sabk-i Hindi* triumphed as a literary form in the 16th century, it has suffered a continuous defeat since that time—through the acidic appra-

isal of critics. *Sabak-i Hindi* has generally been used in a derogatory sense, and the chief blame for its defects has been placed at the inkstand of Indian writers. The validity of this blanket condemnation dissolves on close inspection. First, *Sabk-i Hindi*, like any other *Sabk* or literary style, has both its merits and demerits. No doubt, some of the prose works of this genre, due to their florid phraseology and artificial literary devices, seem to be just an exercise in futility. They lead one wonder whether the writer really wants to say something or is just trying to awe the reader by a display of rhetorical artistry. Lacking the essential quality of simple and direct expression, this prose can be regarded as an exemplar of what Sir Philip Sidney called poetry in prose. Zuhūrī's *Seh Nasr* aptly exemplifies such Prose. By birth an Iranian, Zuhūrī had migrated to the Deccan, where he settled down and served at the court of Ibrahim Ādil Shāh. Many Iranian writers, however, who never visited India also wrote in the same artificial style which characterizes *Seh Nasr*. Wahīd qazwīni, for instance, can be adjudged as an extra-Indian writer of *Sabk-i Hindi*.⁶ The strongest proof that this malady was common to both Iran and India is the records of letters exchanged between Shāh Abbās of Iran and Akbar. The same ornate style characteristic of *Sabk-i Hindi* appears in the epistolary output of both royal personages.

On the positive side we ought to note the many specimens of serious and objective prose from this period are comparatively little influenced by the artificial trend. The biographical and historical books as well as the translation works cited earlier contain a minimum of hyperbolic flourishes. Towering above such books and strangely rare in its style is the *Akbarnama* of Abul-Fazl. The author made an attempt to purify the Persian language by rejecting Arabic words and Arabic constructions. A modern Iranian critic regards Abul-Fazl as a precursor of the new Persian prose that appeared later during the time of Muhammad 'Alī shah Qājār.⁷ Unfortunately no Indian writer of Abul-Fazl's calibre emerged in the later Mughal period. The *Akbarnāma* remained a lonely paragon to literary chasteness. Most of the books written in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries resumed or, rather, adumbrated the extremely artificial elements in *Sabk-i Hindi*.

It is the Persian poetry of India labelled as *Sabk-i Hindi* which provides one of the most glaring examples of injustice and distortion perpetrated by literary critics. The majority of Indians consider it to be a legacy of foreign rule, while foreigners have given it a stepmotherly treatment. Hence the dwindling number of Indians who still love this poetry and consider it a part of their national heritage find themselves suspended between the proverbial devil and the still deep blue sea. Yet there is a charm to this poetry which is so irresistible, and it has a quality which is so subtle,

that an attempt to restore it to its rightful place is worth doing. In the opinion of the present writer, *Sabk-i Hindi* is as great as its criticism has been harsh. Firstly, this poetry, especially the *ghazal*, has certain unique qualities which continue to inspire poets of different climes and regions in India even today when Persian has been replaced by Urdu and other regional languages. In fact, Urdu poetry is essentially *Sabk-i Hindi* poetry in the garb of a different grammar and syntax.

Secondly, *Sabk-i Hindi* gave to the Persian *ghazal* an unprecedented psychological depth, making it a vehicle for transmitting the vibrations of the sub-conscious mind. Take, for instance, the theme of love common to Persian poetry of all periods and places. Although the *ghazal* of *Sabk-i Hindi* does not possess the emotional intensity of the earlier masters, such as Sa'di, 'Irāqi, Khusrau and Hāfiz, it certainly surpasses them in the subtle overtone it projects. Previously the physical beauty of the beloved used to be routinely conveyed in a simple and direct language. The *ghazal* of this period, however, embellished the characteristics of the beloved and gave expression to imagined inner happenings of her mind. She appears not as a teenager but as a grown up and mature lady, refined in taste and manners and intellectually superior to the beloved of the earlier *ghazals*. Not surprisingly, she is also more cruel. Consider the following couplets from Mīr Ma'sūm Nāmi (d.1608):

چون گریه من دید نهان کرد تبسم

پیدا است که این گریه من بی اثری نیست⁸

and Hayāti Gīlani (d. 1606):

ای دل اگر ندید بسویت مرنج ازو شاید که یار در صدد امتحان بود⁹

As the result of a similar psychological refinement, the dialogues between the lover and the beloved are no longer an outburst of passionate love met with a cool indifference or overpowering cruelty but a reflection of subtle attitudes and half-hidden motives. Thus Muhammad Quli Maili (d. 1575) declares:

سازد خموش تا من حیرت فزوده را گوید شنوده ام سخن نا شنوده را¹⁰

And for Qatīl (d. 1824) the beloved is at once coquettish and potentially deadly:

سویم فکند تیر و خطا را بهانه ساخت تیری دگر کشید و ادا را بهانه ساخت¹¹

A third contribution of *Sabk-i Hindi* poetry can be noticed in Sufistic thought. Earlier it was confined to a limited interpretation of the doctrine of *Wahdat al-wujūd* rightly or wrongly ascribed to Muhyīud-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabi. With the advent of *Sabk-i Hindi*, Sufi poetry was transformed into a new mystical medium which seems to flow into two related but distinct channels. The first courses through the dynamic verse of Urfi and Nau‘i Khabūshāni and emerges into the poetic output of Ghālib and Iqbāl. It is the assertive element which distinguishes this verse. It suggests an outlook that was defiant instead of being submissive and was hopeful of the creative potentialities in man. Though all these poets, as well as others of lesser stature but similar outlook, reject the passive role that was excused as *Wahdat al-wujūd*, it would be hard to define their own outlook as the neo-orthodoxy labeled *Wahdat al-shuhūd* and linked to Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi Mujaddid-i Alf-i Thāni (d 1624). Urfi, for instance, exhorts his listeners to bold ambitions and active participation in life:

کفران نعمت گله مندان بی ادب
درکیش من ز شکر گدایانه خوشتر است¹²

Again, he writes:

گرفتم آنکه بهشتم دهند بی طاعت
قبول کردن و رفتن نه شرط انصاف است¹³

Nau‘i Khabūshāni (d. 1610) is famous for his *mathnawi* “*Sūz-u Gulāz*” but he ought also to be remembered on account of the emotional fervor and unabashed vitality that mark his verses in every genre. Consider, for instance, the following fragment:

ای دل همه عمر ممتحن باش گر ز آنکه دل منی چو من باش
در زند کیست بیم مردن جان ده بامید زیستن باش
چون مرده کفن مپیچ برتن چو شعله بمیرو بی کفن باش
این بت شکنی ز خود پرستی ست رو بت تراش و خود شکن باش
چون خاک مجاور وطن چند چون باد غریب بی وطن باش¹⁴

The second channel of Sufistic thought appears in Bedil’s *ghazals*. They are surcharged with speculations on man’s ultimate fate and his relations with the cosmic order. Although a Sufi of the Qādiri order,

Bedil goes far beyond the contemporary thinking and seems to anticipate the quest of modern philosophers : to snatch a ray of meaning from the darkness which descends after the breakdown of faith in both religion and science. Two couplets may be cited to illustrate the metaphysical intensity of Bedil's vast output :

در نسخهٔ بیحاصل هستی چه توان خواند

¹⁵ زان خط که غبار نفسش زیر و زبر شد

ز عدم جدا نفتاده‌ای قدم دگرنگشاده‌ای

¹⁶ نگر آنکه پیش خیال خود بخیال آمدن آمدی

It is not possible here to give even a brief survey of the Persian poetry produced in India during this period. It has attracted very little scholarly attention though there is an abundance of *tazkiras* and poetic collections lying in libraries throughout the sub-continent. A few have been published, but most exist only in manuscript form. The only critical work on Persian poets written by an Indian scholar that is worthy of the name is Shibli's *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*. Yet the learned author discusses only six Indian poets, namely Faizi, 'Urfi, Nazīri, Tālib, Kalīm, and Sā'ib. Very little is known about the large number of other good poets who were their contemporaries. There are many such poets : Ghazālī Mashadī, Muhammad Quli Maili, Khwāja Husain Sanā'i, Mīr Hydar Mu'ammā'i, Anīsī Shāmlū, Hayātī Gīlānī, Mīr Ma'sūm Nā'īnī, Nau'ī Khabūshānī, Ismā'īl Beg Ātishī, Hāshim Sanjar and Anwar Lāhori, to quote only from the period of Akbar and Jahangir, are promising poets whose detailed study is still awaited. All of them had a charming style of their own which added lustre to the times in which they lived. The depth and variety of their experience is versified with superb skill. They wrote about the real feelings of the common man with a grace and sincerity which is all the more astonishing because they themselves were dependent on kings and nobles for their subsistence and also had to write the standard panegyrics. The reader may get some idea of the range of

their experience and poetic genius from the following selection :

- شوری شد و از خواب عدم دیده گشودیم
¹⁷ دیدیم که باقیست شب فتنه غنودیم
- وفا کاموختی ازما بکار دیگران کردی
¹⁸ ربودی گوهری ازما نثار دیگران کردی
- بهر سخن که کنی خویش را نگهبان باش
¹⁹ ز گفته که دلی بشکند پشیمان باش
- دیوانه باش تا غم تو دیگران خورند
²⁰ آنرا که عقل بیش غم روزگار بیش
- ز بس نا دیده و صلم کزو مویی بدست آید
²¹ نمی دانم کجا پیچم نمی دانم کجا بندم
- درین حدیقه بهار و خزان هم آغوش است
²² زمانه جام بدست و جنازه بردوش است

The poets of the following centuries are still more in number and perhaps more diverse in their thinking and attitudes. Leaving aside the greater poets who are quite well known in India and abroad, let us briefly sample the poetry of comparatively minor luminaries :

- چو درد عشق رسد خواهش دوا کفر است
²³ درین معامله اظهار مدعا کفر است
- هر خم و پیچی که شد از تاب زلف یار شد
²⁴ دام شد زنجیر شد تسبیح شد زنار شد
- غنی روز سیاه پیر کنعان را تماشا کن
²⁵ که نور دیده اش روشن کند چشم زلیخا را

- تو وسیر باغ و گلشن من و کوی بینوائی
²⁶ تو و عیش و شادمانی من و آتش جدائی
- چه بیدردانه امشب حال دل با یار میگفتم
²⁷ که او کم می شنید از ناز و من بسیار میگفتم
- عمریست که یک قطره خون در جگر من نیست
²⁸ آن دست حنا بسته چه دارد خبر من نیست
- چشمم چگونه دیدن رویت هوس کند
²⁹ نظاره بر چراغ تو کار نفس کند
- روز دلتنگم پی نظاره گل ، شب خراب
³⁰ خانه دیوار سازان چمن یا رب خراب
- در مجلس خود راه مده همچو منی را
³¹ افسرده دل افسرده کند انجمنی را
- شیخ ممنونت شوم گر جام صهبا می خوری
³² رد مکن امروز آن چیزی که فردا می خوری
- بنا کردند خوش رسم بخون و خاک غلتیدن
³³ خدا رحمت کند این عاشقان پاک طینت را
- با سایه ترا نمی پسندم عشقست و هزار بدگمانی
³⁴
- ای وای بر اسیری کز یاد رفته باشد
³⁵ در دام مانده باشد صیاد رفته باشد
- یاس در پیری و عشرت به جوانی باشد
³⁶ رنج و راحت همه در لیل و نهار است اینجاست

حجاب عشقم نداد رخصت سوال بوس از دهان تنگش
ازو نمی آید این مروت ز من نمی آید این تقاضا³⁷

چو مژگان بتان خوش شیوه رندانه دارم
که در محراب طاعت گوشه میخانه دارم³⁸

کسی کز جم نشان جز نام در عالم نمی داند
چرا بر کف نگیرد جام و خود را جم نمی داند³⁹

As stated earlier, the chief drawback to *Sabk-i Hindi* poetry was its undue emphasis on poetic diction. Poetry was basically viewed as a craft; not only did the poets pay more attention to the artistry of words but the critics also judged poetry from the same angle. Moreover, since Persian was not the mother tongue of Indian poets, their attempts at innovation in poetic diction and their efforts to create novelties sometimes disgusted their Iranian friends. Bedil's poetry is a case in point. Shaykh Ali Hazin, the Iranian born poet and critic took strong exception to the voluminous outpourings of Bedil's pen. He is reported to have remarked that if the people of Isfahan heard Bedil's poetry they would laugh at it. Hazin was greatly respected in India for his scholarship and Iranian birth, notwithstanding his ill temper and tendency to treat Indian poets harshly. Most of Indian scholars submitted to his severe judgement and became apologetic about their poetry. We can take the following statement from Wālih Dāgistāni as a faithful testimony to the tense atmosphere created by Hazin. Wālih was himself an immigrant to Delhi from Iran and had friendly relations with Hazin at least for a time :

عموماً اهل این دیار را از بادشاه و امراء و غیره هجوهای رکیک
که لایق شان شیخ نبود نموده - هر چند او را ازین ادای زشت
منع کردم فائده نبخشید و تا حال درکار است - لابد هاس نمک بادشاه و
حق صحبت امراء و آشنایان بیگناه گریبان گیر شده ترک آشنائی و
ملاقات آن بزرگوار نموده این دیده را نادهده انگاشتم - آفرین بخلق

کریم و کرم عمیم این بزرگان که با کمال قدرت در صدد انتقام
بر نیامده بیشتر از پیشتر در رعایت احوالش خود را معاف نمی دارند -
این معنی زیاده موجب خجلت عقلای ایران که درین دیار بیلای
غربت گرفتار اند می شود -⁴⁰

As an example of the repercussions of Hazīn's behavior, Wālih then goes on to narrate in detail the projections which Sirājūd-Dīn 'Alī Khān Ārzu had made to Hazīn's poetry in his book *Tanbīh ul-Ghāfilīn* to which Hazīn had reacted sharply.⁴¹

All this created an uproar in the country. Indian scholars, even those who had befriended Hazīn, lost their patience and many of them wrote books criticizing Hazīn and his poetry.⁴² Leaving aside his trenchant sarcasm, Hazīn might have been right in his criticism of Indian poets like Bedil but only with respect to idiomatic usage and standard rules of grammar and prosody. Bedil can only be accused of deviating from the set rules of language, as most of the great poets do to form their own independent world of imagery and self-expression. The future course of literary history made Bedil a greater poet than Hazīn. His poetry spread like wild fire throughout Central Asia and today he is reckoned as one of the greatest Persian poets not only in India but in many Persian speaking countries.

Indeed, in India Bedil's reputation has been mixed, his popularity blunted, by the continuing effect of Hazīn's severe criticism. The rigid approach to poetry represented by Hazīn had a detrimental impact on Persian scholarship for many generations. In particular, it narrowed the outlook of many Indian literary critics of Persian poetry. We find no less a giant than Āzād Bilgrāmi, for instance, taking the same approach to Bedil as Hazīn :

میرزا در زبان فارسی چیزهای غریب اختراع نموده که اهل محاوره
قبول ندارند - بلی قرآن که کلام خالق السنه است سر رشته موافقت
زبان در دست دارد - اگر اختراعی خلاف زبان می داشت فصیحای
عرب قبول نمی کردند - غیر فارسی اگر تقلید زبان فارسی کند بی
موافقت اصل چگونه مقبول اهل محاوره تواند شد -⁴³

Yet, to his credit, Āzād also quotes the view of Khān-i Ārzu who held a contrary opinion about Bedil's verse. Ārzu was perhaps the greatest authority of his time on such matters. His broadminded approach to the canon of literary creativity seems to be centuries ahead of his time. Of him Āzād writes :

اما خان آرزو در مجمع النفايس مى گويد كه چون ميرزا از قدرت
تصرفات نمايان در فارسى نموده مردم ولايت و كاسه ليسان اينها كه
از اهل هنداند در كلام اين بزرگوار سخنها دارند و فقير در صحت
تصرف صاحب قدرتان هند هيچ سخنى ندارد.⁴⁴

Indian scholars in general, however, were so over-awed by the mystique of Iran and its Persian-speaking scholars that Khān-i Ārzu's protest went to no avail. Indian scholars and poets continued to submit to the judgments of Iranian critics and to follow them blindly. We should not be surprised to find that Shibli and some other critics of the nineteenth century echo the same prejudice. They considered Persian poetry in India to have peaked with Kalīm (d. 1650); everything later was not up to the mark. Imām Bakhsh Sahbā'i even went so far as to write an essay against Khān-i Ārzu in support of Hazīn.⁴⁵ In the nineteenth century Ghālib alone condemned this submissive and defeatist attitude. Challenging those who decried Indian poets, he defiantly muses :

ايكه راندی سخن از نکته سرايان عجم
چه بمامت بسيار نهی از كم شان
هند را خوش نفسانند سخنور كه بود
باد در خلوت شان مشك فشان از دم شان
مومن و نیرو صهبائی و علوی و انگاه
حسرتی اشرف و آزرده بود اعظم شان
غالب سوخته جان گرچه نیرزد بشمار
هست در بزم سخن همنفس و همدم شان⁴⁶

Ghālib was also wise enough to recognize Bedil and to assimilate his poetic elan into his own. Yet sometimes Ghālib, too, perhaps for his own reasons of solitary grandeur, did not speak well of Indian poets.

Poetry, like any branch of fine arts, cannot and should not be treated as static. It is a living process, constantly adopting new values and rejecting old ones to suit the requirements of a given age and to correspond with the fresh discoveries made in the inner eye of a particular poet's creativity. It is, therefore, worthwhile to make a reassessment of *Sabk-i Hindi* and to probe into its deeper aspect which has unfortunately been overshadowed by its rhetorical aspect. Present day scholars are more and more realizing that *Sabk-i Hindi* should be recognized as an independent branch of the Persian literature : uniformity in style and expression is neither possible nor desirable within such a vast geo-linguistic area as the Persian language encompasses.

In the past, literary critics have lost sight of the thought-content and raised the *Shibboleth* of 'artificial diction', forgetting that the simple language of earlier periods was unable to express the complex nature of the speculations which evolved in the Mughal and later times. The unwarranted critique of Indian born poets has also been extended to Iranian poets who migrated to India, such as 'Urfi, Nazīri, Tālib-i Āmuli, Kalīm and Sā'ib, all of whom were poets of the highest order. I quote here a *ghazals* from Tālib-i Āmuli. Though he certainly was not the greatest of these poets, the following *ghazal* ought to be included in any selection of the finest *ghazal* compositions in Persian, and it is but a sampling from the many other *ghazals* written by the above-mentioned poets.

زگریه شام و سحر دیده چند در ماند	دعا کنید که نی شام نی سحر ماند
زغارت چمن بر بهار منتهاست	که گل بدست تو از شاخ تازه تر ماند
دو زلف یار بهم آنقدر نمی ماند	که روز ما و شب ما بیکدگر ماند
نهاده ام بجگر داغ عشق و می ترسم	جگر نماند و این داغ بر جگر ماند
کنید داخل اجزای نوشدروی ما	هر آن گیاه که برگش به نیشتر ماند
اگر بجامه ' آهن دمی فشانم اشک	ازو نه ابره بجاو نه آستر ماند
برای عزت مکتوب او بدست آرید	فرشته ای که بمرغان نامه بر ماند
ز بس فتاده بهر گوشه پاره های دلم	فضای دهر بد کان شیشه گر ماند
ز شهد خامه ' طالب چولب کنم شیرین	دو هفته در دهنم طعم نیشکر ماند ⁴⁷

It is due to the eternal genius of Iran that it is Iranian scholars who have now started realizing that Urfi, Nazīri, Tālib, Sā'ib, Kalīm and many

other poets of Mughal India have been unjustly criticised in the past. H. Partow Baizā'i, a contemporary Iranian scholar, writes :

و جای بسی تعجب است کسانی که آنهمه در بیست و سی ساله⁴⁸
 اخیر سبک صائب و کلیم را تحت عنوان سبک هندی انتقاد کرده اند
 بادر دست داشتن هر نوع وسیله، مبارزه در برابر مزخرفاتی که
 باسم شعرنو در برابر چشم آنها عرض وجود کرده و ریشه درخت
 کهن مال ادب فارسی را قطع می کند ساکت نشسته و کلمه ای
 بزبان نمی آورند اما نسبت بمردگان سی صد چهار صد ساله که قدرت
 جواب گوئی ندارند اینهمه بی لطفی رومیدارند -

As a result of the reassessment which Baizā'i ably voices, there are quite a few Iranian poets, such as Amīrī Fīrūzkūhi, who have begun to follow *Sabk-i Hindi* at least in composing *ghazals*. It is also gratifying to note that it is Iranian scholars who have brought out handsome editions of Nazīrī, Tālib, Sā'ib, Kalīm, Ghālib, Iqbāl and many other poets of India. If the present trend is maintained and if Iran's interest in the Persian literature of India continues to grow, one may hope that the sense of belonging and love which once existed between the two countries will be revived in this century.

یوسف کم گشته باز آید بکنعان ، غم مخور
 کلیه احزان شود روزی گلستان ، غم مخور

FOOT-NOTES :

1. *Sabk Shināsi*, Vol. III, p. 257, Tehran, A.H. 1337 (2nd imprint).
2. *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, Lucknow, 1893, pp. 168-183.
3. *Biburnāma*, Vol. I, New Delhi, reprint 1970, pp. 271, 283, 286.
4. *Sabk Shināsi*, Vol. III, p. 227.
5. For a detailed study of the nature and characteristics of this poetry, see W. Kirmani, *Evaluation of Ghalib's Persian Poetry*.

6. *Sabk Shināsi*, Vol. III, p. 276.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 289.
8. *Tazkira-i Sham'-i Anjuman*, Bhopal, 1293 A.H., p. 466.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
10. *Dīwān-i Muhammad Quli Maill*, Muzammil Manzil Collection (Aligarh), 40, f.2.
11. *Dīwān-i Qatīl*, Maulana Azad Library (Aligarh), 5511/891/22. f. 83.
12. *Dīwān-i 'Urfi*, Kanpur, 1915, p. 15.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
14. *Dīwān-i Nau'i*, Maulana Azad Library (Aligarh), 165 *farsi*, f.25.
15. *Kulliyāt-i Bedl*, Vol. I, Kabul, 1341 A.H., p. 414.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 1183.
17. Ghazālī Mashhadi, cited in *Bihtarīn Ash'ār*, Tehran, A.H. 1313, p. 428.
18. Anīst Shāmlū as cited in *Bihtarīn Ash'ār*, p. 786.
19. Hayāti Gīlāni, as cited in *Muntakha' ut-tawārīkh*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 18 p. 219.
20. Ismā'il Beg Ātashi, as cited in *R'yāzush-Shu'ara*, Muzammil Manzil Library, Aligarh, 278, f. 121.
21. Muhammad Hāshim Sanjar, as cited in *Dīwān-i Sanjar*, Raza Library, Rampur, 3431, f. 102.
22. Anwar Lahori, as cited in *Rūz-i Raushan*, Bhopal, A.H. 1297, p. 80.
23. Barhaman, as cited in *Dīwān-i Barhaman*, Muzammil Manzil Library, 515, f.16.
24. Dārā Shikūh, as cited in *Kalimātush-shu'arā*, Lahore, 1942, p.90.
25. Ghani, as cited in *Dīwān-i Ghani*, Srinagar, 1964, p. 58.
26. Makhfi, as cited in *Dīwān-i Makhfi*, Kanpur, 1901, p. 97.
27. Ni'mat Khān 'Āli, as cited in *Safīna-i Khushgū*, Vol. III, Patna, 1959, p. 62.
28. Nāsir 'Ali, as quoted in *ibid.*, p. 4.
29. Mirza Muhammad 'Ali Māhir, as quoted in *Kalimātush-shu'arā*, p. 105.
30. Anand Rām Mukhlis, as cited in *Kharīta-i Jawāhir*, p. 151.

31. Mīr Bakhshī Mukhlis, as cited in *Bihārīn Ash'ār*, p. 561.
32. Sirājud-dīn Ārzu, as cited in *Dīwān-i Ārzu*, Maulana Azad Library, 47/77, f. 36.
33. Mīrza Mazhar Jān-i Jānān, as cited in *Dīwān-i Mīrzā*, Kanpur, A.H. 1271, p. 7.
34. Wālih Dāghistāni, as cited in *Kharīta-i Jawāhir*, p. 168.
35. Shaykh 'Alī Hazīn, as cited in *Safīna-i Khushgū*, Vol. III, p. 293.
36. Āsif Jān Shākīr, as cited in *ibid.*, p. 255.
37. Shaykh Faqīrullāh Afarīn, as cited in *ibid.*, p. 242.
38. Āzād Bilgrāmi, as cited in *ibid.*, p. 269.
39. Bindra Ban Khushgū, as cited in *ibid.*, p. 286.
40. *Riyāzush-Shu'arā*, Muzammil Manzil Library, 278, f. 346.
41. *Safīna-i 'Alī Hazīn*, Introduction, p. 34.
42. Muhammad Azīm Sābit selected about five hundred couplets of Hazīn to prove that Hazīn frequently borrowed themes from other poets. See *Safīna-i 'Alī Hazīn*, Introduction, p. 44.
43. *Khazāna-i 'Āmlra*, Kanpur, 1871; p. 153.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
45. *Safīna-i Shaykh 'Alī Hazīn*, Hyderabad, 1930, Introduction, p. 38.
46. *Kulliyāt-i Ghālib*, Lucknow, 1968, p. 194.
47. *Kulliyāt-i Tālib Āmulī*, Tehran, A.H. 1341, pp. 466-7.
48. *Dīwān-i Kalīm*, Introduction, Tehran, A.H. 1336.



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